Case.		4106	
1	UNITED STATES DISTRICT CO EASTERN DISTRICT OF NEW Y		
2		x 21-CR-371(BMC)	
3	UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,	United States Courthouse	
4	Plaintiff,	Brooklyn, New York	
5	-versus-	October 25, 2022 1:15 p.m.	
6	THOMAS BARRACK & MATTHEW GRIMES,		
7	Defendants.		
8		x	
9	TRANSCRIPT OF CRIMINAL CAUSE FOR TRIAL BEFORE THE HONORABLE BRIAN M. COGAN UNITED STATES SENIOR DISTRICT JUDGE BEFORE A JURY		
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11			
12	APPEARANCES		
13	For the Government:	UNITED STATES ATTORNEY'S OFFICE	
14		Eastern District of New York 271 Cadman Plaza East	
15		Brooklyn, New York 11201 BY: RYAN C. HARRIS, AUSA	
16		SAMUEL P. NITZE, AUSA CRAIG HEREEN, AUSA	
17		HIRAL D. MEHTA, AUSA MATTHEW MCKENZIE, AUSA	
18			
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20		New York, New York 10019 BY: MICHAEL S. SCHACHTER, ESQ.	
21		RANDALL JACKSON, ESQ. CASEY DONNELLY, ESQ.	
22	Court Reporter:	STEVEN BALLEW, ESQ. Georgette K. Betts, RPR, FCRR, CCR	
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24			
25	Proceedings recorded by r produced by computer-aide	mechanical stenography. Transcript ed transcription.	

Case 1:21-cr-00371-BMC-TAM Document 395 Filed 03/15/23 Page 1 of 137 PageID #: 10477

Case 1:21-cr-00371-BMC-TAM Document 395 Filed 03/15/23 Page 3 of 137 PageID #: 10479

- 21 few days before the meeting that Matthew sent to you with an
- 22 attachment labeled Sheikh Tahnoun bin Zayed bio.

Do you see that?

24 I do. Α

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25 I want to show you portions of that bio that you were

1 | sent and there's --

2 MR. SCHACHTER: If we can blow up the top half so we 3 can see, actually a little bit more than that.

Q So this contains information about -- that you received about him being chairman of the First Gulf Bank, attended the University of San Diego, known as prominent businessman and then his involvement in mixed marshal arts, but then also at the top it indicates that he is deputy National Security Advisor.

10 Do you see that?

11 A I do.

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Q Now, so is that -- do you recall being specifically aware of that title and how -- what importance, if any, did his particular role have in your desire or thinking in preparation

15 of that meeting?

A I knew it was a big role, I didn't know exactly what it was. I know he was one of most powerful men in the UAE so I assumed it was a big job.

Q Okay. Thank you.

Now when we left off you had -- you had already talked about the meeting and then you had mentioned that you had mentioned this meeting to people in the Trump campaign; is that correct?

24 A Yes.

Q You mentioned Jared Kushner and also Paul Manafort; is

I just want to break that down. Is this letting the convention manager for the campaign know right after the meeting with Sheikh Tahnoun?

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1 A Yes.

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Q And then you wrote, private coffee with the man in U.S.A.

3 | sometime in June. What's that a reference to?

A To their willingness to meet with candidate Trump sometime in June when they were in the United States.

6 Q Why -- you talked about this a little bit before, but why

did you think that was something that could be a positive?

A Well, if you remember where we left off, at this time in

May -- I don't remember when Ted Cruz finally pulled out, but

candidate Trump was not a really viable contender in the

11 global sphere of things. The Muslim ban was still a major

12 | controversy and had not been changed or amended, so to get an

13 Arab leader to be willing to meet with any of the candidates,

especially this candidate, to me was a big thing.

15 Q What did you think would be the value, if any, to Donald

16 Trump from having such a meeting from your view?

17 A To hear from Sheikh Tahnoun, somebody who is well

18 respected in the UAE and he had known of the Middle East

19 situation of course, I thought it would provide a better point

of view. He hadn't had a point of view from the Arabs, he

21 hadn't had a point of view from the Muslims. It was like an

oxygen mask dropping down, he just put it down on Americans

23 and said I'll figure it out later.

Q I see. Now were you familiar with other candidates who

had been running for president in the past who had met with

BARRACK - DIRECT - MR. SCHACHTER
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- 1 other world leaders during the course of their campaign?
- 2 A Sure.
- 3 Q And from your perspective, what would be the value of
- 4 that?
- 5 A The same. I think candidates are trying to establish two
- 6 constituencies. A constituency at home, domestic policy.
- 7 We're dealing with all those things that we all deal with
- 8 every day: Inflation, homelessness, the economy, healthcare.
- 9 At the same time our expectations of a presidential
- 10 candidate is keep us out of trouble and to balance the -- all
- 11 | the contentions that are happening in the world and they have
- 12 to have some mojo in the international field. So they all
- 13 | have Obama, Clinton, all of them in their campaigns have
- 14 | traveled abroad to meet with leaders around the world.
- 15 Q All right. Now, by the way, this conversation that you
- 16 | had had that you're referencing here about a coffee with
- 17 | Donald Trump and Sheikh Tahnoun sometime in June, did that
- 18 | ever happen?
- 19 A No, sir.
- 20 Q What was your understanding as to why Sheikh Tahnoun
- 21 | never actually followed through and agree to sit down with
- 22 Donald Trump?
- 23 MR. NITZE: Objection. Foundation.
- 24 THE COURT: Well, how do you know? How do you know
- 25 | what --

including Paul Manafort, that Phares had a varied background,

GEORGETTE K RETTS RPR ECRR CCR

And at the time it had been raised by lots of people,

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BARRACK - DIRECT - MR. SCHACHTER

very smart, very bright, very well educated, but had far right leanings in what his political opinion was that might not be good for the campaign.

At this point in time Phares had asked Jared for a meeting with another man named George Nader, who at that time was unknown to me, but was another Lebanese kind of wannabe diplomat at large, who had a relationship with Abu Dhabi, apparently had a relationship with Abu Dhabi and MBZ, and through Nader they had requested a meeting with Jared.

- Q And after Mr. Kushner discussed this with you, what, if anything, did you do to find out more about Mr. Nader or Mr. Phares?
- A Well, I shared with Jared obviously that I had just come back and I thought this was a great opportunity for candidate Trump and him because Sheikh Tahnoun seemed to be interested in speaking to them, and that my feeling was that they should speak directly to him and to Jared. I knew who Walid Phares was, smart, bright, but I didn't know who George Nader was. And I said, why don't you just hold off on that until I find out who these people are and if this is really coming through
- 22 anything about it, it's strange.
  23 Q What, if anything, did you do to find out more about

Sheikh Tahnoun. I was just there, he didn't mentioned

- 24 those individuals?
- 25 A I contacted Rashid and said what's happening.

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Abu Dhabi educational council. Not authorized on behalf of Tahnoun or MBZ. Low level and deals with domestic education issues.

So just generally, when you wrote good to cancel, what were you talking about?

It seemed appropriate for him to cancel the meeting

1 because he wasn't having the meeting with the principals, he 2 was having the meeting with intermediaries.

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Now I'm going to show you what's in evidence as Government Exhibit 223. This is -- we saw this before. This is an email same day that Rashid sent to you that we've gone through.

He wrote: Spoke with Khalifa and he reconfirmed no messages was delegated. And went on.

Why did you understand that Rashid had written this email to you?

So at the time we had talked about this majlis diplomacy and the fight in the majlis. Again, the majlis being the living room at that time, supposedly, of Mohammed bin Zayed, the crown prince of Abu Dhabi. And Nader was doing the same thing that Rashid was, trying to show influence that he had some direct line into the campaign of president Trump and trying to be that intermediary. Rashid, as we've talked about, was attempting to do the same thing for his own relevance.

So Rashid had told me before that he didn't like Nader he thought Nader was not reliable and this was just a response from Rashid coming back saying he's a mid level guy, he doesn't have any authority, I talked to Khalifa.

Let me follow up on that. So you said that Rashid -- I'm not sure exactly the words you used, but was trying to vie for

- 1 importance by showing that he was -- had some kind of
- 2 | connection to Donald Trump. That's -- importance to who and
- 3 | why would that be important, from your perspective, your
- 4 understanding, why would it be important to Rashid and to whom
- 5 | would it show importance?
- 6 A My understanding at the time was he had very little
- 7 | relevance in Abu Dhabi itself and that this was the nexus to
- 8 give him some standing for Khalifa who was his friend.
- 9 Q I see, but he was able to set up a meeting for you with
- 10 | Sheikh Tahnoun; is that right?
- 11 A He did.
- 12 Q So how do you -- can you explain how can you both not
- 13 | have particular relevance back in Abu Dhabi, but also be able
- 14 to set up this meeting?
- 15 A Yes, I think it's in baby steps. Setting up a meeting
- 16 was great. I could have done it different ways had that been
- 17 | foremost in my mind, but I think the stars aligned for him and
- 18 | it was a good opportunity, but I knew that he didn't have an
- 19 existing relationship with him, because I saw that once I went
- 20 to the meeting.
- 21 Q And you say you could have set this up other ways. You
- 22 mentioned a friend named Mohammed Alabbar, is that somebody
- 23 | that could have set up meetings for you?
- 24 A Yes. Mohammed Alabbar, as we remember, was the chairman
- of Emaar which is a Dubai company, but he also ran a family

interested in Israel. Paul was interested in the convention

1 and a more balanced global view.

If you remember, this is now May, candidate Trump had come out against Mexico, against the Muslims, against China, against South Korea, it was not looking good on a global basis and Paul was concerned with that.

So I was talking to Paul about the opportunity of these meetings which he and I both thought would be great and that I was confused about Nader and Phares, and he was too. He said you just have to make it very clear that those guys are not representing the principals that should be meeting with Jared and myself, myself being Paul.

- Q Now did you -- in addition to forwarding Rashid's email to Mr. Manafort, did you also forward it on to Jared Kushner?
- 14 A I did.

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- Q Prior to forwarding that email, did you make some changes to some of the words in that email?
- 17 A I did.
  - MR. SCHACHTER: I'm going to show you Government

    Exhibit 69 in evidence. If we can put that side by side with

    the original email -- well, let's just look at this.
- Q So this is you forwarding Rashid's email to Jared Kushner and you bcc Paul Manafort; is that right?
- 23 A Yes.
- MR. SCHACHTER: Okay. And if we can just put those two side by side, Government Exhibit 69 and also the original

BARRACK - DIRECT - MR. SCHACHTER 1 email from Rashid so we can take a quick look at the changes 2 that you made. 3 So you changed -- one second. You added the words, if 4 we -- the original email is just so we can see it is on the 5 right, and you, before forwarding it to Jared Kushner, wrote 6 spoke with Khalifa and you added the words "who spoke to MBZ 7 and Sheikh Tahnoun." 8 And then after the name Thomas Barrack in the third line you added, "as they both told you personally." 9 10 You also added, "and what he is really about," in the next line. And you wrote -- and you added "and other 11 Arabs who do not want him." 12 13 Then you changed where it says on the right "in 14 June" you changed it, "to meeting with candidate at some 15 point." 16 MR. SCHACHTER: Can you highlight the words "at some 17 point" Mr. McLeod at on the right. 18 Can you explain why did you make any changes to this 19 email? 20 Because in talking with Paul he made clear that Jared 21 would not know who Khalifa is. Barely, at that point in time, 22 Sheikh Tahnoun and MBZ were just coming on the scene. 23 was really focusing hard on Israel, and Paul wanted to make it clear to not have Phares involved. It's a little bit of 24

palace drama even there between Paul and Jared trying to take

1 | control of what this international piece would be.

So it was an attempt to just clarify basically the principals should be meeting with principals and that Sheikh Tahnoun himself should be the one who has the meeting with Jared or the candidate. And trying eliminate that confusion.

On the part of "and other Arabs who do not want him," the idea of having a meeting, a candidate meeting in June I knew with most Arabs that -- my mom's motto of punctuality is the courtesy of kings doesn't happen, so sometime.

- Q So the first change, "who spoke to MBZ and Sheikh Tahnoun" explains who Khalifa is to Jared Kushner?
- 13 A It explains it's coming from MBZ and Sheikh Tahnoun. I 14 think he had no idea who Khalifa was.
- Q Okay. As they both told you personally, that would be a reference to you, what's the purpose of doing that?
- A Yes. As Sheikh Tahnoun and Khalifa both told me

  personally that, as you remember from that meeting, he said he

  wanted to come in June and would be willing to meet with the

  candidate.
- Q Okay. And then the change to at some point from June to leaving it less clear as to when this meeting would actually occur?
- 24 A Yes.

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25 Q All right. Did you think there was anything wrong with

- 1 changing the language that you did in this email before
- 2 forwarding it to Jared Kushner?
- No, not at all. I'm just trying to inform Jared this was 3
- 4 nothing official, confidential, proprietary.
- 5 And just to be clear, these changes make it --
- 6 particularly the one about "as they both told you personally"
- 7 is telling Jared Kushner that you're in direct contact with
- Sheikh Tahnoun; is that right? 8
- 9 Yes, and he knew that from the dinner that I had had with
- 10 him a couple of nights before.
- 11 If your goal was to secretly influence the Trump
- 12 campaign, would it make any sense for you to make changes to
- 13 an email to make it all the more clear that you were speaking
- 14 directly with Sheikh Tahnoun?
- 15 No.
- 16 All right.
- 17 MR. SCHACHTER: You can take that down Mr. McLeod.
- 18 Now in addition to trying to set up a coffee with -- for
- 19 Donald Trump with Sheikh Tahnoun, did you also try to
- 20 introduce Donald Trump to the UAE's ambassador to the United
- 21 States?
- 22 I did.
- 23 MR. SCHACHTER: I'm going to show you what's been --
- 24 I think what is in evidence as Barrack Exhibit 3044.
- 25 Is that ambassador Otaiba from the UAE?

THE COURT: Objection. Overruled. Ladies and gentlemen, again this document is not offered to show anything it says in there is the truth. It is just shown to suggest what Mr. Barrack's state of mind was at the time.

MR. NITZE: Your Honor, I just want to make sure the part that we kind of most object to is not -- are you able to

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Cas	se 1:21-cr-00371-BMC-TAM Document 395 Filed 03/15/23 Page 20 of 137 PageID #:
	BARRACK - DIRECT - MR. SCHACHTER
1	see the whole document on your screen or just the
2	THE COURT: I looked at actually, no. I've only
3	looked at the first part, the bottom email.
4	MR. SCHACHTER: Mr. McLeod, you can blow up the top
5	two emails so that
6	MR. NITZE: Your Honor.
7	MR. SCHACHTER: Well, I guess Mr. Otaiba would
8	that be sufficiently legible, your Honor?
9	THE COURT: What are you focusing on?
10	MR. SCHACHTER: I'm focusing on
11	THE COURT: Not you. What's the objection focused
12	on?
13	MR. NITZE: Some of the Otaiba statements, including
14	with respect to confusion.
15	MR. SCHACHTER: That also goes to Mr. Barrack's
16	state of mind, and it places it in context.
17	THE COURT: I agree. Objection, overruled. It's
18	received with that limitation I told the jury.
19	MR. SCHACHTER: Can we start, Mr. McLeod, at the
20	bottom.
21	Q So, Mr. Barrack, looking first at your email to
22	Ambassador Otaiba you say, I hope you are well and that I find
23	you some place in the world after Ramadan.
24	I wanted to try and find a time to introduce you
) 5	norganally to Donald Trumn

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BARRACK - DIRECT - MR. SCHACHTER And by the way, this is just a couple of days before you have your meeting with Sheikh Tahnoun; is that right? Yes. Then if we can turn to the last paragraph, you write: This would be absolutely nonpolitical. Just an opportunity for the two of you to know each other. I have told him that you are amongst the best and brightest of a new generation of Arab leaders under MBZ's wisdom and leadership. The two of you should know each other. I am happy to bring him to you for a cup of coffee if you are interested. My best to you and the family. So why did you want Donald Trump to be introduced to Ambassador Otaiba? I think we remember from both Mr. Davidson and Professor Haykel that Ambassador Otaiba is probably the longest standing Arab ambassador in Washington. He's smart, he's articulate. He's totally westernized, and he's young. So I thought it would be a great place to start for Jared and candidate Trump to hear how the Arabs, how the Muslims feel about this Muslim ban.

In addition to all the other things. This energy independence. If you remember, side by side with this we have energy independence going on, which is a threat to the continued revenues of oil and gas in the region. And I knew Yousef, he's so, so diplomatic and I thought it would be a

great opportunity for both of them.

Q All right. Looking at his response he writes: Greetings from sunny Abu Dhabi, where the confusion about your friend Donald Trump is, all caps, very high. Confusion because no one seems to know him and obviously because of his statements, particularly the Muslim ban. Have to admit even someone as nonjudgmental as I am, had a problem with that statement. I trust your judgment of course and defer to you since you know him and I don't. He says he's happy to connect with him.

How did you -- and then also looking at your response to that. You write: Yousef, he is the king of hyperbole and is searching through radical popularism to create a dialogue in our region. I'll stick a pin in that, I want to ask you about that.

He knows U.S. foreign policy has caused confusion and mistrust. He is not anti-Islam or anti-racist simply using it to induce serious dialogue.

You write: We can turn him to prudence. He needs a few really smart Arab minds to whom he can confer. You are at the top of that list. I promise a meeting will be enlightening if nothing else and build a great bridge for the UAE if he is successful.

I want to ask you about your response. You wrote: We can turn him to prudence. To be clear, who is asking for this meeting? Is this something that's being pushed by the

- 1 UAE or is this something that you are sort of begging for?
- 2 A I'm begging for it. I think you can see from the
- 3 paragraph before, he's in a diplomatic code telling me I'm out
- 4 of my mind, so I'm trying to gain some ground here to explain
- 5 to him that what he's doing is creating these bombs. He
- 6 throws a hand grenade in the middle of things that people are
- 7 | confused about to create a dialogue.
- 8 Q When you wrote, we can turn him to prudence, what do you
- 9 mean -- first of all, who is the "him" you're talking about?
- 10 A Candidate Trump.
- 11 Q What do you mean when you're saying to Ambassador Otaiba,
- 12 | we can turn him to prudence?
- 13 A Inferring that what he has been explaining in public as
- 14 this Muslim ban is imprudent.
- MR. SCHACHTER: You can take that down, Mr. McLeod.
- 16 Thank you.
- 17 Q Just like you tried to get Sheikh Tahnoun as well as
- 18 Ambassador Otaiba to meet Donald Trump during the campaign,
- 19 did you just the same make efforts to get the emir of Qatar to
- 20 also meet with Donald Trump during his campaign?
- 21 A Yes, I did.
- MR. SCHACHTER: I'm going to show you what's in
- evidence as Barrack Exhibit 3092.
- 24 Q Can you tell us who is that?
- 25 A That's the emir of Qatar, Sheikh Tamim on top.

19 20 life of the father in as many years as anybody can remember. 21 Western-educated, super smart, loved America. I thought it 22 would be a great milestone for the candidate to visit with. 23 Can you tell us what was discussed between that meeting 24 with Donald Trump and the emir of Qatar? 25 Α Well, as everybody can now imagine, the first thing was

BARRACK - DIRECT - MR. SCHACHTER 1 anything but politics; it was football. Football, European 2 football, soccer. By this time Sheikh Tamim had owned Paris 3 Saint-German, and candidate Trump was an avid sports man. 4 in that meeting was Melania and Barron, and Barron was a 5 soccer player. So the first 10 minutes or so were about 6 soccer. PSG at that time, I think at that time already Qatar 7 had been awarded the 2022 World Cup which is coming up, which 8 is a huge thing in soccer. That was the beginning of the 9 meeting. 10 What else was discussed in very general terms? 11 Mr. Trump explained to him at the time kind of out of the 12 chute after we got through soccer that he had great admiration 13 for him through me, that he knew that they were partners of 14 mine for many years, that he had met Mohammed bin Jassim --15 Hearsay objection to this line. MR. NITZE: 16 THE COURT: Sustained. 17 Let me ask you this, Mr. Barrack. How did the subject of 18 the conversation that occurred between Donald Trump and the 19 emir of Qatar, how did that compare to the kind of 20 conversation that you were hoping that Sheikh Tahnoun or 21 Ambassador Otaiba would have with Donald Trump? 22 It was representative of what I hoped would somehow 23 evolve amongst them.

named Prince Alwaleed meet with Donald Trump during the

All right. Now did you also make efforts to get a man

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Cas	se 1:21-cr-00371-BMC-TAM
	10502 4131 BARRACK - DIRECT - MR. SCHACHTER
1	campaign?
2	A Yes, I did.
3	MR. SCHACHTER: I'm going to show you what we have
4	marked as Barrack 602 for identification and we'll offer
5	Q Let me ask, is that a text exchange you had with Prince
6	Alwaleed?
7	A Yes, sir.
8	Q Who is Prince Alwaleed?
9	A Prince Alwaleed bin Talal is the son of ex-King who was
_0	at that time probably the most notable Saudi Arabian global
.1	investor. For the jury, he was the largest shareholder in
_2	Citibank, for instance. He bought the Plaza Hotel from Donald
.3	Trump. He was the most westernized of the Saudi prince
4	businessmen.
.5	MR. SCHACHTER: We'll offer Barrack Exhibit 602.
- 6	MR. NITZE: We have a hearsay objection.
.7	MR. SCHACHTER: This is not offered for the truth,
. 8	it's offered to show Mr. Barrack's state of mind.
9	MR. NITZE: If not for truth, then with that
20	limitation.
21	MR. LOWELL: No objection.
22	THE COURT: Hold on a second.
23	It is still relevant even if it's not true. It
24	shows his state of mind.
25	Objection, overruled.

- Do you recognize who is in this photo?
- 25 Α I do.

Cas	<u>se 1.21-01-00371-BMC-1AM -Document 395 - Fileo 03/15/23 - Page 28 01137 Page D #</u>	
	10504 4133 BARRACK - DIRECT - MR. SCHACHTER	
1	Q Your Honor is that you and Prince Alwaleed?	
2	A Yes. It's prince Alwaleed to the right.	
3	MR. SCHACHTER: We'll offer Barrack Exhibit 1102.	
4	MR. NITZE: No objection.	
5	MR. LOWELL: No objection.	
6	THE COURT: Received.	
7	(Barrack Exhibit 1102, was received in evidence.)	
8	Q So it's I'm sorry you just said Prince Alwaleed is	
9	over to the right?	
10	A Yes.	
11	Q Can you explain where are you in this photograph? What	
12	is this photograph of?	
13	A This is the prince's desert weekend majlis where he	
14	receives each of these princes have a tribe, it's like the	
15	Mayor of the city, and those individuals rely on the prince	
16	for resolution of conflicts. If one of them is taking the	
17	other's water, if there is a dispute over who owns a camel, if	
18	they need money if they need whatever they need they	
19	present their petitions over a 18-hour period and the prince	
20	feeds them and decides on those issues.	
21	This is one of those weekends in the desert.	
22	MR. SCHACHTER: All right. You can take that down,	
23	Mr. McLeod.	
24	Q Now in addition to the emir of Qatar, were you also	
25	successful in introducing, during the campaign, other world	

- 1 leaders to Donald Trump?
- 2 A Yes.
- 3 Q Who did you introduce to Donald Trump or to Jared
- 4 Kushner?
- 5 A Yes. I mean to both kind of simultaneously in Mexico.
- 6 You remember we had two gigantic issues going in Mexico,
- 7 NAFTA, the North American Free Trade Agreement. Candidate
- 8 Trump had come out and said had to be ended, and immigration,
- 9 building the wall across the border in Mexico. The Mexicans
- 10 were not excited about either of those opportunities and so I
- 11 introduced Jared to the foreign minister, who at the time was
- 12 | the finance minister Luis Videgaray Caso.
- 13 Q Did you -- by the way, in scheduling a meeting between
- 14 Jared Kushner and the finance minister of Mexico, were you
- 15 acting as an illegal agent of Mexico?
- 16 A I was not.
- 17 Q And why did you think it was important for Donald Trump
- 18 or people around him to have contact with the former foreign
- 19 minister then finance minister of Mexico?
- 20 A Again, I thought at this point in his candidacy that he
- 21 | had to attract more moderate constituents and more moderate
- 22 constituents were very uncomfortable with these kind of
- 23 | outrageous claims.
- The Mexican community -- if you remember, he had
- 25 made statements that the Mexicans who were coming to us were

BARRACK - DIRECT - MR. SCHACHTER 1 rapists. Many Americans were just outraged. So I was trying 2 to get common ground to come back to have him step back from 3 some of those things that I knew he didn't really believe. 4 Were you also involved in setting up meetings with the 5 other leaders, Argentina or Peru? 6 PPK was the president of Peru at the time. 7 Who is that? He goes by PPK, it's Pedro Kuczynski. He's actually a 8 Princeton professor also. I introduced him to them. 9 10 America was having the Summit of Americas in 2018 and Latin 11 America was also seeking American support and intervention to 12 help them. 13 President Macri in Argentina, President Trump had 14 known when they were younger and I reintroduced them also. 15 All right. Now by the way, for similar reasons in 16 addition to world leaders, did you try to get Donald Trump to 17 meet with environmental advocates? 18 I did. 19 Can you tell us about that? 20 Yes. If you remember we're digging in problem after 21 problem, it's like revisiting the parade of horribles, but at 22 this time the Paris Treaty was also something -- the two 23 European issues that were on the stage at that time was NATO,

to do with climate change.

North Atlantic Treaty Alliance and the Paris Treaty, which had

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- BARRACK DIRECT MR. SCHACHTER 1 And candidate Trump had attacked the Paris Treaty 2 along with regulations for the Environmental Protection 3 Agency, and other things. So Leo DiCaprio, who was a friend 4 was outraged and I suggested to Leo, the same way I suggested 5 to some of these world leaders, that why don't you sit down 6 and have a conversation with him. 7 Did that -- was that successful? Did that happen? 8 It was not successful, and it did happen. 9 Okay. And by the way, were you in, setting up that 10 meeting, acting as an illegal agent of Leonardo DiCaprio? 11 I wish I could have, but that wasn't the case. 12 All right. Did there come a time when you met with 13 Sheikh Tahnoun a second time? 14 Yes, sir. 15 And where and approximately when was that? It was in Morocco in August of 2016. 16 17 Now, you had first met with him in the beginning of May, 18 and this was now the beginning of August and I believe you 19 said that you had invited Sheikh Tahnoun to come visit you at 20 your ranch in California back when you saw him in May; is that 21 right? Yes.
- 22
- 23 Had he done anything to accept your invitation between
- 24 May and August?
- 25 Α No.

The father emir of Qatar, Sheikh Hamad in this

25

of Qatar.

1 text, which is Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifa Al Thani, and his

- 2 | sons, primarily the son Khalifa, Sheikh Khalifa.
- 3 Q Did you think that bringing Paul Manafort to meet with
- 4 these various people would be of some interest to them?
- 5 A I did. I did.
- 6 Q Why?
- 7 A He was the campaign manager at that time so rather than
- 8 | me getting way over my skis and trying to explain campaign
- 9 issues, I could wax poetic on the business issues on the
- 10 things I knew and he could talk about the campaign.
- 11 Q Just to be clear, did you think there was anything
- 12 | improper about the campaign manager talking about the
- 13 | campaign?
- 14 A Not at all.
- 15 Q Did Paul Manafort end up coming?
- 16 A He did not.
- 17 Q Why not?
- 18 A At that time things were hot and heavy in the campaign.
- 19 I had told the candidate Trump that I was going to Morocco and
- 20 I wanted to take Paul with me. He thought it was a terrible
- 21 idea, that he wanted Paul to continue on his day job. Paul
- 22 was also in a kind of a food fight in the campaign at the time
- 23 | with Corey Lewandowski for territorial claim and decided if he
- 24 left his desk it may not be there when he got back.
- 25 MR. SCHACHTER: I'm now going to show you what's in

BARRACK - DIRECT - MR. SCHACHTER 1 evidence as Government Exhibit 263. If we can look at the 2 second page, please, Mr. McLeod, so we can see the beginning of that email chain. That's okay. I think this is 3 4 probably -- do you have a second page? Great. Thank you. You wrote at the bottom, and this is an email chain with 5 6 Rashid Al Malik; is that right? 7 Yes. 8 You wrote at the bottom: Paul M not join us. for the reason that you just described? 9 10 Yes. Α 11 If we can just go up the email chain. You wrote: 12 empowered to handle all, better this way. Very sensitive and 13 I have all the authority. Very sensitive. And lots of 14 exclamation points. Can you explain why you wrote that? 15 16 I wanted -- I knew they would probably be disappointed 17 that they couldn't speak about this Muslim ban with somebody 18 who was actually empowered by the campaign, but I talked to 19 President Trump about it and he said he'd do the right thing. 20 All right. And I mean -- well, if we can look at this 21 and also a little further up you also wrote: I just spoke to 22 Trump about this for an hour and we decided this is the best 23

Let me ask you a question. Mr. Barrack, your manner of emailing and text messaging, do you type or do you have a

Is it really establish a, and then you just left it.

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1 different way of writing emails and text messages?

- 2 A I dictate a lot of time, so the auto correct sometimes
- 3 doesn't work. I'm driving or running or doing something else.
- 4 Q Okay. So just the -- when you said I'm empowered to
- 5 | handle all, what did you mean by that?
- 6 A I can handle both sides, the business side and the
- 7 campaign side.
- 8 Q And then just one last question on this, the government
- 9 got read in, Rashid says, they are even trying not to pass
- 10 immigration process off the grid.
- 11 What did you understand that to mean? I mean, you
- 12 | didn't write that email; is that correct?
- 13 A No, but that's -- there's nothing funny by that. That
- 14 happens in almost every instance. We're coming in a private
- 15 plane. Tangiers airport, for anybody who has seen some of the
- 16 Moroccan movies, is the worst airport in the world and getting
- 17 | through customs is an impossibility, so what they're talking
- 18 about is we organize it so you don't have to go through normal
- 19 customs immigration.
- 20 Q But to be clear, that's your understanding, this is not
- 21 your email, right?
- 22 A That's correct.
- 23 | Q You don't have the power to read Rashid's mind whatever
- 24 it is he meant?
- 25 A I do not.

Case 1:21-cr-00371-BMC-TAM Document 395 Filed 03/15/23 Page 36 of 137 PageID #:			
10512 4141 BARRACK - DIRECT - MR. SCHACHTER			
MR. NITZE: Objection.			
THE COURT: Sustained.			
MR. SCHACHTER: Okay. You can take that down.			
Okay. Now in advance of that I'm going to show you an			
email that you received in advance of that meeting I believe.			
If I can show you what's in evidence as Government			
Exhibit 264.			
Q So this is August the 2nd. Do you happen to recall your			
meeting with Sheikh Tahnoun, it was like August the 3rd?			
A Yes.			
Q And this is something Rashid sends to you copying			
Mr. Grimes. You will love this. UAE/U.S.A. facts; is that			
right?			
A Yes.			
Q And if we can look also at Government Exhibit 415 I'm			
sorry, let's look at the attachment to that if we can.			
We've seen this now, I think we saw this during			
Professor Haykel's testimony, a bunch of facts about UAE and			
U.S. relations; is that right?			
A Yes.			
Q Did you understand this was sent to you in advance of			
your meeting with Sheikh Tahnoun to prepare you for that			
meeting?			
A Yes.			

If I can also show you what's in evidence as Government

- Q There is a biography of Mohammed bin Zayed; is that right?
- 24 A Yes.
- 25 Q Look at the next page sent to you, a press release

19

20 Okay.

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21 MR. SCHACHTER: You can take that down, Mr. McLeod.

Let's talk about this meeting with Sheikh Tahnoun in

Morocco. What happened when you arrived in Morocco?

We were escorted through the airport, taken in a van to a hotel in Tangiers, waited there for a couple of hours, then I

BARRACK - DIRECT - MR. SCHACHTER

- 1 was picked up by the van and proceeded to Sheikh Tahnoun's
- 2 | yacht, which was parked at the port in Tangiers.
- Q And I'm going to show you what has been received in evidence as Barrack Exhibit 994.
- 5 Who is in this photo and where is this taken?
- 6 A It's taken at the port of Tangiers outside of Sheikh
- 7 Tahnoun's boat. That's Sheikh Tahnoun on the right and that's
- 8 | my fearful face on the left.
- 9 Q You don't look like you're dressed for a business
- 10 | meeting. Had you been told what you were going to be doing
- 11 | that day?
- 12 A Yes.
- 13 Q What were you told?
- 14 A That we were going on a bike ride up a Moroccan mountain.
- 15 Q I don't see -- by the way, did Matthew fly to Morocco
- 16 | with you?
- 17 A Yes.
- 18 Q I don't see him in his photo, was he with you for this
- 19 bike ride?
- 20 A No, no, I left him at the hotel.
- $21 \mid Q$  And so you go to the boat and what happens there, and
- 22 then what happens next.
- 23 A I go to the boat and then, as I recall, I went with part
- of the team. There were multiple people, I think 10
- 25 | professional cyclists, a doctor, his staff, and we proceeded

- to a starting point where we were going to take off with the bikes and at the same time I think a car went and picked up

  Rashid and some of the other team from the hotel and brought
- Q And then what happened? You got to the -- you're taken to some point, can you tell us what happens there?
  - A So we're talking -- on the way we're talking about his training regime, which was a little over my skis. He was biking about 75 miles a day at the time, which was only 74 miles more than I wanted to bike in 110-degree weather.

So we got to the designated point and he assigned a bright young Serbian cycling professional to me and he took off with a team of 10 or 15. We biked through the desert for an hour and a half or so. He was finishing when I was at the halfway point.

Q I'll show you a few photos of that. If we can look at what's in evidence as Government Exhibit 535.

What are we looking at here?

- A We're looking at kind of the beginning of the bike trek. That's Sheikh Tahnoun on the left, I think that's Rashid in the middle, that's me and my assigned cycling pro to the right.
- Q What was your understanding as to whether Rashid had actually ever met Sheikh Tahnoun before this?
- 25 A I don't think he had.

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them to that point.

Morocco to join the GCC, so we talked about that. And we talked about food security. Morocco -- the

poverty level in Morocco is terrible, and Africa in general even though we call it the Arab world, we're dealing with Africa was the future of the food basket for the Middle East.

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- 1 So we talked about how important it was for him to start
- 2 making investments in areas that would be fruitful, excuse the
- 3 pun, for food security. And I had mentioned to him that we,
- 4 Colony, were in the middle of a transaction with Dole, which
- 5 was one of the largest and most prestigious food growers and
- 6 developers in the world and that it's something I thought he
- 7 might be interested in.
- 8 Q At some point during this conversation did he mention
- 9 | Mohammed bin Salman?
- 10 A He did.
- 11 | Q That's the crown prince of Saudi Arabia?
- 12 A Yes, sir.
- 13 Q What did he say?
- 14 A He asked if I had ever met MBS; I said no, that I knew
- 15 his father. His father, the king, King Salman -- I know that
- 16 all of these names start getting unbelievably confusing, but
- 17 | "bin" means son of. So every time we talk about Mohammed bin
- 18 | Salman it means Salman is the father, Salman was the king. So
- 19 I knew him when he was the governor of Riyadh and I knew many
- 20 of MBS's brothers and I shared that with Sheikh Tahnoun.
- 21 Q What else did he say?
- 22 A He said he's here, would you like to visit him. And I --
- 23 Q What did you say?
- 24 A Absolutely.
- 25 Q Now, in this discussion that you had with Sheikh Tahnoun

Barrack - direct- Schachter

1 DIRECT EXAMINATION

2 BY MR. SCHACHTER: (Continuing)

3 Q Tell us about what happened when you met Mohammed bin

4 | Salman. Where did you go and what happened?

5 A So I went back to the hotel to change clothes and was

6 picked up in a van to go to his father's palace, as I recall.

The Saudis summered in Morocco. They wanted to be near the

8 | sea. It was King Salman's palace, which was magnificent. It

was like Arabian nights. It was 8 o'clock at night, something

10 like that.

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I had a little more credibility now because Trump was actually the candidate. Still, they didn't believe that he would be successful in the campaign against Secretary of State Clinton, but at least we had gone through one barrier.

So I went to the palace and in typical Arab style went to one of his majlises. Again, the majlis is a room this size with seats and couches against all the walls and a prince like this, there would be five or six of these majlises filled with people waiting to see him. And I took my spot in one of those majlises.

Q And then what happened?

A I was there for probably 45 minutes drinking tea, coffee, coffee, tea, tea, coffee, and then the Prince's assistant came to get me and brought me into his private office.

Q Tell us what happened then.

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A We went through the usual Arab introductions. He spoke no English to me at that time, and my Arabic wasn't fast enough to keep up with him full-time, so his assistant stayed to help us through it, and he enthusiastically just started giving me a history of Saudi Arabia.

I told him that I knew his father. I told him that I had started life as a young pup as a lawyer in the middle of the desert and it's one of the things that changed my life. I have an appreciation for the Arab culture. And he said Well, let me give you a little bit of background. And for 50 minutes he gave me a history in a cadence that I had never heard with facts that I had never heard. And at the end of that time, he said I have to go, but I would love to have a continued conversation with you. I wish you the best. I'm always available for a dialogue with you or anybody you think I should speak with and that was it.

- 17 Q And where did you go after that?
- 18 A Back to the hotel.

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- 19 Q Now, to be clear, you're not charged with being a Saudi 20 foreign agent, but I just want to confirm. At any point 21 during that conversation with Mohammed bin Salman, did he ask 22 you to agree if you would operate subject to the direction or
- 23 | control of Saudi Arabia?
- 24 A Of course not.
- 25 Q Did you tell him that you would be interested in being a

- 1 | Saudi foreign agent?
- 2 A Absolutely not.
- 3 Q Okay. Now, I want to show you what has been received in
- 4 | evidence as Government Exhibit 269. If we look at the bottom
- 5 e-mail, this is an e-mail --
- 6 MR. SCHACHTER: You don't need to blow it up, Mr.
- 7 McLeod.
- 8 Q -- August the 4th, that's the day after your meeting with
- 9 Sheikh Tahnoun; is that right?
- 10 A Yes, it is.
- 11 Q And you e-mailed Justin Chang send me Dole deck for
- 12 Sheikh Tahnoun. Do you see that?
- 13 A Yes.
- 14 Q Why did you ask Mr. Chang to send you the Dole deck?
- 15 A I was following up on what I had discussed with Sheikh
- 16 Tahnoun on food security. Justin was the deal guy. We
- 17 assigned one of our executives to each project and he was the
- 18 deal guy that I had assigned to Dole.
- 19 Q And if we can look at in evidence Government Exhibit 271.
- 20 You then took that Dole presentation and you forwarded it on
- 21 | to Rashid Al Malik; is that right?
- 22 A Yes.
- MR. SCHACHTER: And then, if we can look at -- I'm
- 24 | not entirely sure if it's in evidence. If not, we will offer
- 25 Government Exhibit 77.

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Case 1:21-cr-00371-BMC-TAM Document 395 Filed 03/15/23 Page 48 of 137 PageID #
                       Barrack - direct- Schachter
 1
               Witness and counsel only, please, Mr. McLeod.
 2
               MR. NITZE:
                          I think it's in. No objection. I think
     it's in evidence.
 3
 4
               THE COURT:
                          It's in now.
 5
               MR. SCHACHTER: Thank you, Your Honor.
               THE COURT:
 6
                          Sure.
 7
               (Government Exhibit 77, was received in evidence.)
 8
          So you sent the Dole deck to Rashid. Was that to send on
     to Sheikh Tahnoun?
 9
10
                I didn't have any contact information for Sheikh
11
     Tahnoun.
12
          Okay. And this is now three days later, Rashid had sent
13
     to you -- what is he sending to you here?
14
          Sheikh Tahnoun's e-mail address, I believe.
15
          Okay. So let's just be clear. So you met Sheikh Tahnoun
16
     on May the 1st and now it's August the 7th and you didn't have
17
     his e-mail address; is that correct?
18
          That's correct.
19
          And just to be clear, aside from that, you met with him
20
     on May the 1st and then you saw him on August the 3rd, did you
21
     have any contact with Sheikh Tahnoun at all during then until
22
     the time when Rashid sends to you Sheikh Tahnoun's e-mail
23
     address?
24
          I did not.
25
          Now, by the way, before you visited Sheikh Tahnoun, did
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Barrack - direct- Schachter

1 | you tell people at Colony Capital that you were about to have

2 this second meeting with Sheikh Tahnoun in Morocco?

- 3 A I did.
- 4 Q Why?
- 5 A The same reason that we revisited before: Everybody's
- 6 | working towards establishing these relationships with
- 7 | investors with deals across the realm and the more we share
- 8 | with each other, the more touch points we get as to what's
- 9 | important, what's not. I don't know what's being marketed to
- 10 any of Abu Dhabi's entities or Sheikh Tahnoun's particular
- 11 entities, so we update each other on what's happening.
- 12 Q And did those communications inform your thinking heading
- 13 | into that meeting with Sheikh Tahnoun?
- 14 A They did.
- 15 | Q Let me show what we've marked for identification as
- 16 Barrack Exhibit 15. Is this a communication that you had with
- 17 | Sylvio Tabet in advance of this meeting with Sheikh Tahnoun?
- 18 A It is.
- MR. SCHACHTER: We offer Barrack Exhibit 15, not for
- 20 truth, Your Honor, just to show what was informing Mr.
- 21 Barrack's thinking.
- MR. NITZE: We have a hearsay objection and we also
- 23 | have previous rulings about state of mind of employees. I'm
- 24 | not sure -- there is no response from Mr. Barrack. I'm not
- 25 | sure what the relevance is if not for truth.

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1 MR. SCHACHTER: We're offering to what informed -2 this is in advance of the meeting.

THE COURT: It shows the knowledge base that Mr.

Barrack had. Whether the information given in this is true or not, ladies and gentlemen, again, it doesn't really matter, he was given this information. It's admitted on that basis.

(Barrack Exhibit 15, was received in evidence.)

- Q Mr. Tabet is your employee in the Middle East?
- 9 A Yes, sir.

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- 10 Q Okay. This is the day before your meeting with Sheikh
- 11 Tahnoun; is that correct?
- 12 A It is.
- 13 Q And he writes ADIC CLO discussions.
- Can you explain what is the reference ADIC, CLO discussions.
- 16 A So, ADIC, as was described in our sovereign wealth fund
- 17 discussion is another Abu Dhabi sovereign wealth fund. It's
- 18 | not an ADIA. It is a sister company, Abu Dhabi Investment
- 19 | Corp., and a CLO -- again, when we were talking about kind of
- 20 the two spheres of Colony's business, one being equity, one
- 21 being assets, and the other being debt, this is just a Wall
- 22 Street form of dividing up kinds of debt called a
- 23 | collateralized loan obligation. It's in the parlance called a
- 24 | structure derivative, which is just a product. The way to
- 25 look at it is our guys are saying we're trying to sell this

4156

1 | product, we are trying to sell it ADIC and ADIA and we haven't

- 2 been making much headway.
- 3 Q Mr. Tabet writes, Dear Tom, I learned from JG --
- 4 A John Grunzweig was the Chief Investment Officer of Colony
- 5 at the time.
- 6 Q -- that you may be seeing the Crown Prince Sheikh
- 7 | Mohammed bin Zayed or Sheikh Tahnoun this week or next and
- 8 that you may refer to the current state of dialogue between
- 9 our institutions, such as the CLO with ADIC and ADIA. John
- 10 asked me to brief you as to the discussions with ADIC.
- And then is what follows sort of an update on the
- 12 current dialogue regarding potentially selling this product.
- 13 A It is.
- 14 Q And then he also informs you, in the bottom paragraph
- 15 | that we're seeing on the screen, kindly note that the Crown
- 16 Prince is the new chairman of ADIC since last year.
- Do you see that.
- 18 A I do.
- 19 Q If we can look a little further down. Does Mr. Tabet
- 20 also provide you --
- 21 MR. SCHACHTER: Further down. Thank you.
- 22 Q -- additional information about ADIC, including Mohammed
- 23 | bin Zayed's role in ADIC?
- 24 A He does.
- 25 Q He also providing you with information about ADIC being

spun off from ADIA, the Abu Dhabi Investment Authority? 1

Yes. Α

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MR. SCHACHTER: You can take that down, Mr. McLeod, 3 4 thank you.

Now, I'm going to show you what is in evidence as Government Exhibit 272. On August the 10th, you wrote -- and we saw that was an e-mail from Mr. Tabet to you before the meeting with Sheikh Tahnoun. This is now after meeting, and you wrote to Mr. Tabet, We hit the jackpot in the Middle East.

I will bring you up to speed this weekend.

He says wonderful news, exclamation points.

Is that part of the training at Colony Capital, 12

13 punctuation.

14 Yeah. Unfortunately, I passed it on to Matthew. I don't 15 know where it came from.

16 All right. And what did you mean when you told Mr. Tabet 17 we hit the jackpot in the Middle East?

18 That I had had a meeting with MBS and another meeting 19 with Sheikh Tahnoun.

20 All right. And why is that jackpot? Why is that good 21 for Colony?

So if you took the top 100 private equity firms, 15 or 20 of them have ownership by some of these sovereign wealth The rest are all envious of trying to create a

relationship with them.

Barrack - direct- Schachter

1 Again, as we talked about, these people that I'm 2 talking about don't know what a CLO is. They have no idea what those kinds products are but that reputational capital is 3 important. So you start at the bottom and you start at the 4 5 top. So, to have an opportunity especially at that point in time to visit with MBS especially was huge. 6 7 I don't want to breeze too quickly past something that you just said. So you said that these sovereign wealth funds 8 9 have ownership interest in many of the largest private equity 10 firms in the world. Is that what you said? 11 Yes. 12 Can you explain what that means? 13 Yes. So we talked about funds yesterday. 14 distinct investment in a distinct product.

In addition to that, many of these sovereign wealth funds, as they have grown up, they've decided they want to own a part of the business, they want to own a part of, for instance, Colony. They want to own a part of Blackstone.

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If you take the biggest sovereign wealth funds, take Silver Lake, and Silver Lake, it has I think nine percent ownership by Mubawab. If you take Aries, the same thing, about eight percent. Apollo, the same.

If you take Tower Capital Partners, its PIF is -- and again, I'm sorry for these acronyms. PIF is Kuwait. PIF is Saudi Arabia.

1 So Kuwait has TowerBrook. It has Silver Point.

2 You have 15 of the private equity firms that are

3 actually owned by these entities in part, some minority

position in the manager itself, in addition to being an

5 investor in the fund.

- 6 Q I see. So that ownership is like Prince Alwaleed owning
- 7 | a portion of Citibank?
- 8 A Exactly.

- 9 Q Now -- and by the way, Mr. Tabet talks about how Colony
- 10 was trying to market this CLO product to ADIC and ADIA; is
- 11 | that right?
- 12 A Yes.
- 13 Q Did ADIA or ADIC actually invest in that CLO product?
- 14 A They did not.
- 15 Q Even though you had met with Sheikh Tahnoun at that point
- 16 twice?
- 17 A Yes.
- 18 Q I am going to show you what's in evidence as Government
- 19 | Exhibit 80. Once you received Sheikh Tahnoun's e-mail
- 20 address, did you e-mail him?
- 21 A I did.
- 22 Q And I just want to go through this. You wrote, Your
- 23 | Highness, I'm still pumping endorphins and dopamine from you
- 24 | are an amazing bike ride. Thank you so much for your gracious
- 25 | hospitality. I'm sorry you did not receive my previous thank

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1 you notes. So what are you talking about there?

- 2 A I had sent him a thank you note, but, again, I didn't
- 3 have his information, so I sent it to the wrong place
- 4 obviously.
- 5 Q All right. Now, he says -- I'm sorry, you say, We are on
- 6 track on all counts and I have updated your team.
- 7 You say, I'm going to be in Greece until August the
- 8 | 30th and if you're somewhere in the region, I would love to
- 9 come and see you for a couple hours and update you.
- 10 Do you see that.
- 11 A Yes.
- 12 Q To be clear, did Sheikh Tahnoun take you up on your
- 13 | invitation and find a way to see you while you were in Greece
- 14 through August the 30th?
- 15 A He did not.
- 16 Q You wrote, I will have Paul Manafort with me and I think
- 17 | it would be an interesting to have another round of
- 18 | conversations about what's happening and our crafted a
- 19 position on the Middle East.
- 20 What were you attempting to communicate to Sheikh
- 21 Tahnoun.
- 22 A That I was going to have Paul with me who could better
- 23 explain what I had talked to him about, our crafted position,
- 24 | meaning the Trump-crafted position on the Middle East, which
- 25 was now changing.

Case 1:21-cr-00371-BMC-TAM Document 395 Filed 03/15/23 Page 56 of 137 PageID #:

Barrack - direct- Schachter

1 Q And that's a reference to changing positions on the

- 2 Muslim ban?
- 3 A Yes.
- 4 Q Now, even though you said that you were going to have
- 5 Paul Manafort with you in Greece through August the 30th,
- 6 still Sheikh Tahnoun did not take up your invitation and find
- 7 a way to see you in Greece?
- 8 A He did not.
- 9 Q And you wrote, Most importantly, my ranch is awaiting you
- 10 in Santa Ynez, whenever you have the opportunity, I hope to
- 11 | see you soon and once again many thanks for your generosity
- 12 and kindness.
- 13 Is that a reference, again, to the invitation that
- 14 | you had made for Sheikh Tahnoun to come visit you at your
- 15 ranch.
- 16 A Yes.
- 17 Q Is that the invitation that he never accepted and never
- 18 came to see you?
- 19 A Yes.
- 20 Q Now, I want to be clear about something. When you talk
- 21 | about -- you're offering to have a conversation with Sheikh
- 22 Tahnoun about a position that the Trump campaign had
- 23 | announced; is that right?
- 24 A Yes.
- 25 Q Mr. Barrack, were you a private citizen?

1 A Yes.

2 Q Did you think that there was any restrictions in the

3 | world on your ability to talk about a candidate's position

4 | with anyone you wanted to in the world, either with the

5 campaign manager or without?

A I thought that was actually a great thing.

7 Q Why?

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8 A The idea of having somebody that had knowledge in both

9 confused arenas that could create some web of understanding of

10 | tolerance is what I know we all needed. I was so lit up. I

11 was so excited that I could perhaps be some minor prod in that

12 process.

13 Q All right. Okay. So that's the meetings with Sheikh

14 Tahnoun.

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I now want to change to a different topic. I want

16 to talk to you about the -- do you remember the Government

showed, during the course of this trial, like a PowerPoint

that talked about strategy, UAE strategy.

Do you remember that?

20 A I do.

Q Okay. I am going to show you -- let's talk a little bit

22 before then.

I am going to show you what's been admitted in

24 | evidence as Government Exhibit 73. This is an e-mail that you

25 received from Rashid after your first meeting with Sheikh

Barrack - direct- Schachter

1 Tahnoun; is that right.

2 A Yes.

3 Q And he writes Tom, UAE/Saudi is the subject?

4 A Yes.

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5 Q All right. He writes, Hi, Tom. Khalifa asked me to work

together in building a strategy for us moving forward

7 regardless of the future election results to maintain strong

8 | relationships and utilize what's already exists and benefit

9 | from it for UAE and Saudi and how to build on it.

And then he writes brief background, investments and assets, described the current situation and political climate, the potential of how to capitalize on what we have, a simple example where we can start, regards Rashid.

Do you see that.

15 A I do.

Q Okay. When he says building a strategy for us and then he says, Tom UAE/Saudi, what's your understanding of what he was talking about to the extent you understood?

A My belief of what he was talking about when he says us, it's he and Colony. And I think what he is saying is that the odds of the campaign being successful don't look very good, so let's figure out some strategy regardless of whether this candidates wins or not or whatever the platform is going

forward of opportunities to take advantage of these

relationships, a business plan. Saying regardless of what

1 happens in the election, let's figure out a business plan.

- Q Okay. And by the way, did you respond at all to Rashid's
- 3 e-mail?
- 4 A No.
- 5 Q I'm going to show you what's in evidence as Government
- 6 Exhibit 50. If you look at the very bottom -- bottom half, I
- 7 | suppose. Very bottom is good -- do you see that after you had
- 8 ignored Rashid's e-mail, Rashid then, a few days later e-mails
- 9 Matthew Grimes?
- 10 A Yes.
- 11 Q Is the topics that he writes to Matthew pretty much a
- 12 | very similar thing that he wrote to you?
- 13 A It is.
- 14 Q He writes, Brief background, investment in assets by
- 15 | Saudi and UAE, describe the current situation and political
- 16 climate and so on; right?
- 17 A Correct.
- 18 Q If we can look at the top of that.
- 19 Matthew then forwards this e-mail to you; is that
- 20 right.
- 21 A Yes.
- 22 Q And he writes Tom, Rashid had mentioned ADIA investment
- 23 | you told me about on the way to Rancheros following your
- 24 | meeting with TBZ. Rashid said that Khalifa, and then he says,
- 25 Tahnoun guy, had asked for a two- to three-page summary of

1 | what Rashid sent below, is this something you would like me to

- 2 draft and send to you?
- 3 Do you see that.
- 4 A I do.
- 5 Q He writes Rashid had mentioned ADIA investment you told
- 6 me, meaning you told Matthew about on the way to Rancheros; is
- 7 | that right?
- 8 A Yes.
- 9 0 What's Rancheros?
- 10 A Rancheros goes back to the two consistent themes in this
- 11 case, football and horses.
- 12 Rancheros is a group that have a ride in the Santa
- 13 Ynez mountains once a year at the time cows are having calves.
- 14 It is kind of a community of cowboys getting together and
- 15 helping gather those cattle, brand them, put them back with
- 16 | their moms, and this was a conversation that I had with him as
- 17 I think we were coming home from that.
- 18 Q All right. And some mention of an ADIA investment, and
- 19 | then he identifies this guy Khalifa. It looks like that's
- 20 misspelled; is that right?
- 21 A Yes.
- 22 Q And he refers to him as Tahnoun guy. Is that sort of how
- 23 you understood Khalifa, to be a Tahnoun guy?
- 24 A Yes.
- 25 Q And he had asked for a two- to three-page summary of what

Rashid, July 27, 2016, and it contains an attachment UAE strategy.

9 I want to be very clear on this Mr. Barrack. Are 10 you on this e-mail.

11 A No.

12 Q All right. Let's look at what's attached.

By the way, this is an e-mail from Matthew to

14 Rashid; right?

15 A Correct.

16 Q And have you seen, during the course of this trial, that

17 | this document is sent to anyone else?

18 A No.

19 Q Now, this version says, Crafting a stronger alliance and

20 integration for the UAE, Saudi Arabia and USA, and it says

21 presented by Thomas Barrack and Rashid Al Malik, August 2016.

Do you see that.

23 A I do.

24 | Q Let's just --

25 MR. SCHACHTER: Can we flip through some of the

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Case 1:21-cr-00371-BMC-TAM Document 395 Filed 03/15/23 Page 62 of 137 PageID #
                       Barrack - direct- Schachter
 1
     slides. Good enough. Let's pause this. Let's go back to the
 2
     front page, page 2 of the document.
 3
          So this one says -- the one that the Government
 4
     introduced into evidence says, Presented by Thomas Barrack and
     Rashid Al Malik.
 5
               Now, I want to just look at the time of the e-mail
 6
 7
     that Rashid -- Matthew sends that to Rashid at 5:50.
 8
               Do you see that.
          I do.
 9
     Α
10
               MR. SCHACHTER: Okay. And now I'm going to offer
11
     what was marked for identification but not introduced into
12
     evidence yet and that is Government Exhibit 32.
13
               For witness and counsel, please.
14
               MR. NITZE: No objection.
15
               MR. LOWELL: No objection.
16
               THE COURT: Received.
17
               (Government Exhibit 32, was received in evidence.)
18
          So, is this an e-mail sent from Matthew Grimes to Rashid
19
     Al Malik about one minute after the e-mail that the Government
20
     had introduced earlier in the trial?
21
          It is.
22
          Again, are you on this e-mail?
23
          No.
24
          Okay. And let's look at now the cover of the
25
     presentation. Does your name appear?
```

- 1 A No.
- 2 Q All right. And by the way, did you -- did you use this
- 3 document in your meeting with Sheikh Tahnoun?
- 4 A No.
- 5 Q Did you ever use it in any meeting with anyone?
- 6 A Never.
- 7 Q Did you ever send it to anybody at all?
- 8 A No.
- 9 Q But I want to just ask a couple questions about a couple
- 10 of pieces of this. Can we turn to page 5.
- 11 It talks about the UAE being a substantial economic
- 12 power. Is that true, to your knowledge.
- 13 A Yes.
- MR. SCHACHTER: I'm sorry. Page 5 of the
- 15 PowerPoint, maybe two more pages. Well, I may have trouble
- 16 finding it.
- 17 Q But there's references in this PowerPoint to the UAE
- 18 | investing to increase influence with the USA; is that right?
- 19 A I think -- I don't know unless we can find -- I didn't
- 20 really read the document. I don't know.
- 21 Q Okay. But -- I understand that. And you didn't write
- 22 this document; correct?
- 23 A No.
- MR. NITZE: Leading, Your Honor. Objection to
- 25 leading.

Barrack - direct- Schachter

- 1 Q Did you write this document?
- 2 A No.
- 3 Q Okay. To -- based on your understanding, at this point
- 4 | in time, in August of 2016, is there a presidential candidate
- 5 | who was getting a fair amount of support after announcing he
- 6 | wanted to ban all Muslims?
- 7 A Yes.
- 8 Q If I had asked you in August 2016 do you think there's
- 9 anything wrong with a Middle Eastern country making
- 10 | investments with an eye towards improving its image and the
- 11 | image of the Muslim community in the United States, would you
- 12 | have thought anything was wrong with that?
- 13 A Quite the opposite.
- 14 Q What do you mean?
- 15 A I would have thought that was necessary to enhance the
- 16 reputational capital of the well-meaning Muslims and Arabs all
- 17 over the world who were doing the right thing.
- 18 Q You had experience of selling Paris Saint-Germain to
- 19 | Qatar; is that right?
- 20 A Yes.
- 21 | Q What does it say on the JERSEYS of Paris Saint-Germain?
- 22 A Qatar.
- 23 | Q Now, you talked about the money that Qatar had made in
- 24 | this investment. Did you understand that the investment had
- 25 other purposes as well?

A Yes. It was amazing. The reputational capital that it earned in France, especially, which is not easy to earn reputational capital if you are a foreign national of some sort, especially an Arab at that point in time, but the Parisians were so pleased that it was an honor for them to have somebody who was elevating the level of this club, as

well as in the world marketplace.

Q All right. Let's switch to another topic. I want to talk to you about your various media appearances that the Government showed you and I would like to start by asking you about how they came about first.

Were you begging the TV interviewers to go on TV so you could talk about the UAE or did the request come the other way around?

A The request came the other way around, not to talk about the UAE, but the request to be in the media came the other way.

Q All right. So you get asked if you would appear on television?

A Yes.

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21 | Q Let's talk more generally about TV interviews.

Why did you do that? Why would you appear on television and speak about any array -- any of the array of subjects.

A Well, again, the simple answer is writing for the brand,

1 | what's the fastest and the best and the most prolific way to

2 | communicate is today: Twitter, Facebook, SnapChat. That's

3 | way beyond my technological ability. So, in kind of Jurassic

4 Park terms, TV was media. The talking heads, all the things

5 | that the jury gets tired of hearing on TV was the norm. So

6 those business channels especially are constantly looking for

7 | experts or people with credibility to help focus on a

8 particular topic and I was lucky enough to be one of those

9 individuals.

- 10 Q Did your investors and business partners ever speak to
- 11 | you about your TV appearances?
- 12 A Constantly, yes.
- 13 Q Now, in either of your meeting with Sheikh Tahnoun, did
- 14 he provide you with any directions as to what you were to say
- 15 on television?
- 16 A No, not at all.
- 17 | Q Did he ever try to exercise control over you and what you
- 18 said on television?
- 19 A Of course not.
- 20 Q And we saw during the course of this trial a number of
- 21 | television interviews that you did. Were any of those
- 22 interviews just about the Middle East or did they also cover
- 23 other topics?
- 24 A To the best of my recollection, they always covered other
- 25 topics.

4172

1 Q Okay. I want to start by asking -- we're not going to

2 look at these, but I just want to show you the front cover of

- 3 the front page of Government Exhibit 901 in evidence.
- 4 MR. SCHACHTER: Just so Mr. Barrack can see what
- 5 this is.
- 6 Q Okay. Well, do you recall that one of the interviews the
- 7 | jury saw was an excerpt of an interview that you gave with
- 8 Bloomberg in which you were in sort of a checkered shirt and
- 9 you looked outdoors?
- 10 A I do.
- 11 Q The interviewer was named Eric Schatzker?
- 12 A Correct.
- 13 MR. NITZE: Objection leading. I'm not doing it
- 14 every time, but --
- 15 THE COURT: Try to control it, Mr. Schachter.
- MR. SCHACHTER: Yes, Your Honor.
- 17 Q Do you see the number 27 at the bottom of this?
- 18 A I do.
- 19 Q Okay. What's your understanding as to what that means
- 20 about the length of the interview?
- 21 A 27 minutes and 11 seconds.
- 22 Q Did you only speak to Eric Schatzker?
- By the way, where did that interview take place.
- 24 A At our family ranch in Santa Ynez, California.
- 25 Q Did you only speak to Eric Schatzker for the 27 minutes?

Barrack - direct- Schachter

1 A No.

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2 Q How long was that interview in total?

3 A Hours.

Q Now, you heard the Government say earlier in this trial that you were trying to manipulate the American public and engage in UAE propaganda.

Were you trying to spread UAE propaganda in this interview.

9 A Not at all.

10 Q I want to ask you about portions of it. I'd like to
11 start by showing you what has been --

MR. SCHACHTER: I think it's in evidence as Barrack 851-T, which is just a transcript, Your Honor, we offer it only as an aid to the jury, a portion of that interview.

Q I would like to focus you on lines 300 to 319.

The interviewer asked you of the things he said he would do as President, what are you most supportive of?

And then you answer, you said, Well, look, it's so complicated. Starting with the things that I'm most upset at us, meaning all of us, and then you go on. You recall you talked about a number of topics.

Do you remember that?

23 A I do.

Q Did you -- of those things that you were most concerned about, do you recall the UAE wasn't one of the things that you

Barrack - direct- Schachter

1 talked about?

2 A Absolutely.

3 Q Why not? Why didn't you use that as an opportunity to

4 talk about the UAE?

5 A Because it was one of the things I was the least

6 concerned about as it related to us.

7 Q All right. Now, if we can look at lines 353 to 364. In

8 | this interview, you said -- well, actually, the interviewer

9 says, And you spent lots of time in the Middle East. And then

you go on to say, I spend half my time in the Middle East, and

11 | then goes on to talk about that.

12 And you say, on line 362, By the way, the Arabs

13 | support that. Do you see that?

14 A I do.

10

24

15 Q What, if any, efforts did you take to hide from reporters

16 | that you spoke about politics with Arab leaders?

17 A None. They all knew it and it was front and center of

18 one of the themes they would always discuss with me and it's

19 part of the reason that I had some arrow in my quiver that

20 maybe others didn't.

21 | Q I'm going to show you now lines 384 to 388. You said

22 look, the United Arab Emirates and Saudi Arabia and Israel in

23  $\mid$  my opinion will align as allies very quickly here and the

world will change for the better and they, all three of them,

25 I quarantee you want terrorism to go away.

Case 1:21-cr-00371-BMC-TAM Document 395 Filed 03/15/23 Page 70 of 137 PageID Barrack - direct- Schachter 1 Why did you say that exact same thing about the UAE, 2 Saudi Arabia and Israel? Why were you saying this? It was my belief and it was Jared's belief at the time 3 4 and actually Candidate Trump and President Trump --MR. NITZE: Objection as to charactering the beliefs 5 6 of others. MR. SCHACHTER: I'm sorry. I'll clarify. 7 8 Mr. Barrack, I'm only asking about you. 9 Why did you say this, that the UAE and Saudi Arabia 10 and Israel, why did you say the same thing about all three 11 countries, not just the UAE? 12 I don't understand the question. 13 Sure. 14 You said these words in this interview. Yes. 16 Why? Because it could happen and it did happen.

15

20

25

17

18 When you say it did happen, what are you referring to?

19 The Abraham Accords, it happened. They aligned. They

had a treaty, the unthinkable with Israel happened with Arab

21 allies and it was a fact.

22 And that treaty was between who and who to do what?

23 Israel, Saudi Arabia, the UAE, Bahrain, later Sudan, and

24 now a series of others.

All right. You also talked -- if we can turn to lines

(Recess taken.)

THE COURT: Okay. That's fine. Thank you.

24

Case 1:21-cr-00371-RMC-TAM Document 395 Filed 03/15/23 Page 72 of 137 PageID # Barrack - direct- Schachter 1 THE COURT: Let's have the jury, please. 2 (The jury enters the courtroom.) 3 THE COURT: Everyone, be seated. Please continue, 4 Mr. Schachter. MR. SCHACHTER: Thank you, Your Honor. 5 6 BY MR. SCHACHTER: 7 Mr. Barrack, in that Bloomberg interview and a number of 8 the interviews that we have all seen, you will say things like UAE or Saudi Arabia or Qatar and Israel. You refer to them as 9 10 important allies or the best allies to America. 11 When you were saying that, you know, were you 12 intending to endorse everything that those countries did. 13 No, of course not. 14 Why did you say it? 15 I mean, I think as we all know allies is a very confusing 16 nomenclature. 17 We're aligned with many countries on many things and 18 we're not on other things. So security, defense, alignment of 19 human rights issues, those kind of things are always at 20 variance and we try and keep a fabric, a web of relationships 21 of diplomacy, which is why foreign service officers are so 22 important to every political regime. 23 But there are some things we agree on and some 24 things we don't agree on. And there 's a lot of countries we

just need to make sure we have a consistent relationship with

1 on an ongoing basis.

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Q All right. We just talked about that Bloomberg interview in which you talked about how these countries want terrorism

to go away. And I'm going to show you what is in evidence as

Government Exhibit 243.

And Rashid writes, Did you get a call from AB, Abu

Dhabi, yesterday.

And then they say, Yes, I think HH and HE Ali Al Shamsi, his deputy, wanted to thank you.

And you responded: Any other theme they would like me to hit.

A couple of questions about that.

What did you understand about why they wanted to thank you.

A I think for addressing the Middle East issues.

Q And when you asked -- Well, why did you ask any other themes they would like me to hit?

This is just shortly after your Bloomberg interview.

A Yeah. I mean, the time, remember, the themes as we were talking about Candidate Trump at the time, and when I said yesterday that he couldn't spell Middle East, that was a euphemism, he knew what he wanted in the Middle East and they were two things that were very difficult. He didn't want to pay anymore --

MR. NITZE: Objection to what the candidate wanted.

1 THE COURT: Sustained.

- Q What did you mean when you said. Or why did you say any
- 3 other themes they would like me to hit?
- 4 A Since I'm talking about the Middle East, are there any
- 5 other themes from the Middle East that they think would be
- 6 important or relevant to my discussions.
- 7 Q Did you think there was anything wrong with asking for
- 8 | thoughts about what you were saying about the Middle East from
- 9 people in the Middle East?
- 10 A I think if you want to be accurate, factual and
- 11 interesting, you better go to the source.
- 12 Q All right. Now, these things that the jury heard you say
- 13 | in these various interviews that were played during the course
- 14 of this trial, were you saying the -- really exactly the same
- 15 | thing before you're alleged to have entered this conspiracy in
- 16 April of 2016?
- 17 A Absolutely.
- 18 Q Prior to the Spring of 2016, had you spoken about the
- 19 Middle East on television?
- 20 A I had.
- 21 Q I am going to show you --
- MR. SCHACHTER: Actually, Your Honor, we will offer
- 23 Barrack Exhibit 811, 811-A, which will show the day of the
- 24 | interview, and then 811 -- well, I think just that, 811 and
- 25 811-A. So, we will offer that.

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Barrack - direct- Schachter
 1
               This is an excerpt of the interview. We have
 2
     previously discussed this and I believe Your Honor has ruled
 3
     on it.
 4
               THE COURT: Right. Admitted.
               (Barrack Exhibits 811 and 811-A, were received in
 5
 6
     evidence.)
 7
          So is this -- did you give an interview on Bloomberg on
 8
     October 9, 2015, more than six months before you're alleged to
     have joined a conspiracy and more than six months before you
 9
10
     met with Sheikh Tahnoun?
11
          I did.
12
               MR. SCHACHTER: And if we can play this.
13
               (Video playing.) (Video stopped.)
14
          Mr. Barrack, why did you say in this interview seven
15
     months before you ever met with Sheikh Tahnoun, why did you
     say those positive things about Qatar or Abu Dhabi, Dubai,
16
     Saudi Arabia?
17
18
          It's absolutely what I believed.
19
          And did the UAE direct you to say any of these things
20
     that we just heard?
21
          No.
22
               MR. SCHACHTER: Your Honor, we will now offer
23
     Barrack Exhibit 826, 826-A, which is an interview that Mr.
24
     Barrack gave to Bloomberg in 2014.
25
               THE COURT:
                           This is part of the same group, right?
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Case 1:21-cr-00371-BMC-TAM Document 395 Filed 03/15/23 Page 75 of 137 PageID

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Case 1:21-cr-00371-BMC-TAM Document 395 Filed 03/15/23 Page 76 of 137 PageID #
                       Barrack - direct- Schachter
               MR. SCHACHTER: Yes, Your Honor.
 1
 2
               THE COURT: Received over objection.
 3
               (Barrack Exhibits 826 and 826-A, were received in
 4
     evidence.)
               MR. SCHACHTER: I'm sorry, can we just show, Mr.
 5
 6
     McLeod, the front page, I'm sorry. The website.
                                                        Show the
 7
     date. I note it's not on the screen, can the jurors see it?
 8
     Okay. Great.
          So this is an interview that you gave to Bloomberg on
 9
10
     July 23, 2014; is that right?
11
          Yes, sir.
12
          So that's, you know, almost two years before you're
     alleged to have been part of a conspiracy?
13
14
          Correct.
15
               MR. SCHACHTER: Okay. Mr. McLeod, can we play the
16
     video.
17
               (Video playing.) (Video stopped.)
18
          Now, in addition to television interviews that you gave
19
     before you're alleged to have been in a conspiracy, did you
20
     also write about the Middle East before your May 2016 meeting
21
     with Sheikh Tahnoun?
22
          I did.
23
          I think your microphone -- can you tap your microphone?
24
          Am I back? Yes? No?
25
               THE COURT: No, I don't think so. I assure you,
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Case 1:21-cr-00371-BMC-TAM Document 395 Filed 03/15/23 Page 77 of 137 PageID #
                       Barrack - direct- Schachter
     ladies and gentlemen, right after this trial, I'm having this
 1
 2
     fixed.
               MR. SCHACHTER: I think we're back.
 3
               THE WITNESS: We're back.
 4
 5
               THE COURT: Yes.
 6
               THE WITNESS: Thank you.
 7
          Are you familiar with something called the Chairman's
     Corner?
 8
 9
          I am.
10
          Can you describe to the jury what is the Chairman's
11
     Corner?
          The Chairman's Corner is a -- is a memorandum, kind of a
12
     news piece that I created 25 years ago in an attempt to
13
14
     communicate things that I found interesting that were
15
     complicated for my investors, my partners, my family, my
16
     employees to understand where I could shed some light on kind
17
     of interesting areas. So it's something that I used do once a
18
     month and kind of distribute broadly to all of those
19
     constituencies.
20
          I see. So, these writings would go to employees, as well
21
     as your investors and business partners?
22
          Yes.
23
          And do you recall one that you wrote entitled Where and
24
     When Does East Meets West?
25
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Α

I do.

(Continued on next page.)

24

## SIDEBAR CONFERENCE

1 (The following occurred at sidebar.) 2 MR. NITZE: So our -- I think there's more to it 3 even than that. We understand the point about reference to the UAE and I think I take them to be making the point he's 4 saying favorable things about the UAE before the indictment 5 6 period. There's also just a lengthy recitation of personal 7 background and even if not admitted for truth, it's totally 8 cumulative of what has already been testified to. It's hearsay and the instruction not for truth just renders it not 9 10 relevant, the fact that he's talking about the grocery store 11 and all the background. So if we can redact it to just have 12 the references to the UAE, then --13 THE COURT: I understand Mr. Schachter has 14 absolutely no problem doing that. 15 MR. SCHACHTER: That's fine. 16 MR. NITZE: I'm glad we concur. Thank you. 17 (End of sidebar conference.) 18 (Continued on next page.) 19 20 21 22 23 24 25

"The Middle East Now: Qatar has become a remarkably forward-thinking state, actively bridging relations between the region and the rest of the world, while contributing impressively to diplomacy, culture, sports, news and

23

24

Barrack - direct - Schachter

entertainment on the Arabian peninsula. It also hosts a major U.S. airbase in the region.

"Qatar is graced with a strong and focused leadership from the Al Thani family who have been tremendous stewards and catalysts for the state's exponential prosperity. The tremendous guidance of Emir Sheikh Tamim, one of the youngest and most prepared monarchs of recent time, and the past visionary foundational leadership of the Emir's father, Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifa, supported by the then Prime Minister Sheikh Hamad bin Jassim are remarkable. The Emir's mother, Sheikha Moza bint Nasser, an intelligent and beautiful woman, has become a great regional and global leader of women's rights and a wonderful ambassador of Arab culture helping launch Qatar into the modern age. The current political situation in Qatar is an example of one of the only successful and peaceful transitions of power from father to son in Arab history demonstrating unique vision, commitment and strength.

"The UAE formed by the ruling al Nahyan family and led by the Emir Sheikh Khalifa bin Zayed and his Crown Prince Sheikh Mohamed bin Zayed is a coalition of 'trucial' states and semi-independent rulers including the Al Maktoum family from Dubai. Abu Dhabi and Dubai, both of which were originally British protectorates, demonstrate qualities deserving of immense international admiration and applause.

Today, the UAE is among the most progressive, commercial and

touristic venues in the world and long before its massive discovery of oil, was in the heart of trade, commerce, pearl diving and agriculture.

"QIA, the Sovereign wealth fund of Qatar, and ADAI, the sovereign wealth fund of Abu Dhabi, are two of the most respected, well run and best performing global investment management teams in the world. Neighboring Dubai, under the leadership of Sheikh Mohammed bin Rashid, has become the Middle Eastern capital of both tourism and commerce and is the best modern example of thoughtful development of a modern city and economy. The UAE hosts tens of millions of foreigners of every religion and belief in both work and play and has become the poster boy for Arab progress and freedom.

"With the backing of the U.S., Saudi Arabia found independence under the leadership of Abdulaziz Al Saud in 1932. Alongside the U.S., Saudi implemented the incubation and creation of Aramco which has served as the driving force of the Saudi Arabian economy. In the beginning, Aramco was a US- based consortium of global oil companies that explored, developed and exported the fossil fuels from the region. The Royal Saud family and the U.S. have been close allies for more than half a century. In spite of the polarity between an ultraconservative monarchy and a secular, democratic republic, the longevity of the U.S./Saudi alliance has been historically remarkable.

Barrack - direct - Schachter

"The Kingdom is primarily dominated by Sunnis with a small population of about 5 million Wahabis. Wahabism, sometimes referred to as Salafism, is one of the most conservative forms of Islam. It is also considered by many in the West to be one of the most extreme sects of Islam. In actuality, this represents only about 20 percent of the population with the remainder being more moderate Sunnis. In spite of Salafist practices, the long-standing political and economic relationship between the U.S. and Saudi Arabia has been mutually advantageous for many decades.

"Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Abu Dhabi and Dubai have been trusted, valued, and essential friends of the U.S., implementing valued diplomatic efforts in the region. In spite of their achievements, contemporary skepticism surrounds governance in these regimes, due to the many global hands that are all attempting to play the same regional piano. All of these culturally unique communities are growing into self-administered states governed more by tribal loyalty than illusory lines drawn in the sand by previous western overseers. It is this way that has allowed them to survive through hundreds of years of change of control and re-designation of physical boundaries.

"The Lessons from History. In the Arab world, at every turn of every leader, there is the footprint of the boots of a Western power. Arabism is in its teenage years,

learning how to blend its various tribes into a united front.

2 Recently, the West has criticized the Middle East for refusing

to adapt to current human rights standards, and to transition

away from practices that the West finds to be abhorrent.

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5 Attitudes are changing in the region, but it takes decades to

effectuate a 180 degree turn in culture and religion. It will

happen in baby steps. (It is helpful to remember that the

U.S. had slavery for over 200 years, and women were not

allowed to vote until the 1920s), "exclamation point.

"While the resource curse of Middle Eastern lands has caused good fortune, it has also led to an accompanying greed and competition from Western powers to be unrelenting in their dominance. The borders of the Middle East are an illusion in the minds of the Arabs. There are only tribes and flags, and the geopolitical boundary lines appear and vanish like the sand dunes in the desert.

"The Arabs are tribes first, religion second and countries last. The notion of an Arab is still illusory.

There is no agreement on boundaries, language, political systems, financial systems, tradition or political preferences. They are proud, honorable and sand smart. They know that their tribe and their religion will trump the whimsical mechanics of an imposed political structure which would change in an afternoon. That is why religion is both church and state. This also is one of the reasons for the

rapid proliferation of Islam through Asian countries that share the same vagaries of quick and sudden political shifts.

"The West, blessed with a clear determination between reliable and democratic states and a multitude of churches, view themselves differently. Americans see themselves first and foremost as Americans and then as Catholic, Jewish or Lutheran. Likewise, Brits see themselves first as English and then as Anglicans, Methodists or Catholics.

"Final Thought. The empty quarter is not empty any longer. One of the main issues with which the world is confronted is how to identify the multitude of competing interests bobbing and weaving through the blowing sands of not so clear boundaries. Our current tumultuous circumstances can only be relieved by an intense and relentless commitment to communicate and educate at all levels.

"There is a dramatic difference between imposing a point of view and presenting a point of view. East and West's mutual misunderstandings, unfulfilled expectations and miscommunicated communications are at the root of the problem. Tolerance is a contact sport and along the way, the price of freedom may extract a steep toll, an unfortunate reality of finding a civilized common denominator of trust and confidence.

"We may also find that the price of total freedom is

Barrack - direct - Schachter

just too great and we are not prepared to accept the occurrences and the vagaries caused by allowing bad conduct under the moniker of freedom. All humans want the same things: Security, livelihood, hope, a better life for their children and, above all, relevancy and respect. History has taught us, however, that there is an innate attribute in men to fight. We have seen throughout history that the last chapter of these fights is always the same and always bad. Using history as a tool to teach ourselves a new trick is a long and agonizing road. Let's hope we accelerate the pace.

"A humble Lebanese immigrant's son, TJB."

So, Mr. Barrack, can you explain why is writing something like this, why are you distributing it to your employees, your investors, your business partners, and why is this part of your job?

A Because it's part of my life. Confusion, confusion of these kind of issues is rampant and in business, it's the biggest problem we have is understanding each other, is communicating with each other. I happen to have an emotional connection to this because I've seen what happened firsthand from camels in the desert and these kind — nice people without access to the West, without access to democracy, without access to understanding, with a religious point of view, no different, by the way, than the Jews in Israel or other sects. And the threads of what they're doing and we're

doing are so complicated. We're sitting here in the middle of the same complication. Why? Because the only thread is

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So for me to try and explain to -- you see the jargon that I have to deal with with my investors. It's confusing. CDO, CLO, structured debt, we don't even know, right, the world of finance and some of you are financial people, I know, but at the end of the day, it comes back to civilization and people and cultures and it hasn't changed for 7,000 years, this tribal disregard, the confusion, the inability to communicate, the unwillingness to communicate, because if you express your point of view, look what can happen.

- Q I'm going to show you --
- MR. SCHACHTER: You can take that down, Mr. McCleod.
- 16 Q I'm going to show you now what has been marked for
- 17 identification as Barrack Exhibit 7.
- Do you recognize this to be a communication that had
- 19 you with a man named Saeed Al- Hajeri regarding this
- 20 | "Chairman's Corner" that we just saw a moment ago?
- 21 A Yes, sir, I do.
- MR. SCHACHTER: Your Honor, we will offer Barrack
- 23 Exhibit 7.
- MR. NITZE: No objection.
- MR. LOWELL: No objection.

Q You wrote: "Saeed, I need your help. As an Arab-American, I've been trying to upgrade the level of thought and information that most Americans utilize in analyzing the current East-West situation. I'm giving a series of talks which are now being picked up and referred to by various news agencies. I've enclosed a draft of a white paper that I wanted to circulate broadly to all of our companies and trying to get some historical context to expand the typical Americans' point of view. I would really appreciate your thoughts to see if there's any sensitivities in the paper that I should have considered or things that could be misconstrued. I have such great respect for you and your thinking. It would really be helpful. We need to

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1 educate! Tom."

So this is seven months before the conspiracy. Why were you asking Saeed Al-Hajeri, this person in the UAE, for their thoughts?

A Again, I have great respect for Saeed as a thinker, as a business person, as somebody who's respected in the Arab world and who has great interaction in the West and he and I have shared this frustration in the past. There's cultural confusion and that, and that -- it's really in his generation, he's younger than me, but we talk about passing the baton. When does this end? When does this parry and thrust of we need you, we don't need you, we like you, we don't like you, we understand your religion, we don't, we need your oil, we don't want it, when does it end?

Q You wrote that you wanted to circulate it broadly to all of our companies. What's that a reference to?

A Colony has portfolio companies as we've discussed in the past. We have either minority investments in that we control or investments that we own. So to broadly distribute it. Since it's a think piece, there's nothing political about it.

If you go back to the original heading in the e-mail, we're talking about tolerance created through education, investigation and questions and this is one of the topics. There were many topics in these "Chairman's Corners" that I was trying to get our constituencies to focus on and I

1 | want to be accurate, I want to be correct. It's a really

- 2 complicated arena.
- 3 Q I'm now going to show you what's been marked for
- 4 identification, witness and counsel only, as Barrack
- 5 Exhibit 216.
- Do you recognize this to be a communication that you
- 7 | had with Rashid Al Malik six months before your meeting with
- 8 Sheikh Tahnoun?
- 9 A Yes, I do.
- 10 Q And had you also sent to him at that time, in November of
- 11 | 2015, your "Chairman 's Corner" on "When East meets West"?
- 12 A Yes, I have.
- MR. SCHACHTER: Your Honor, we'll offer Barrack
- 14 Exhibit 216.
- MR. NITZE: We have a hearsay objection in
- 16 particular with respect to the second sentence on the e-mail.
- 17 THE COURT: Can you blow it up, please.
- 18 MR. NITZE: At the top. Sorry. Not that one. The
- 19 top, the very top.
- 20 MR. SCHACHTER: Your Honor, that's actually very,
- 21 very relevant. I can explain.
- THE COURT: He's not objecting on relevance. He's
- 23 objecting on hearsay.
- MR. SCHACHTER: Well, it's offered -- as we've
- 25 talked about, it's offered with respect to Mr. Al Malik's

state of mind, as the government has introduced evidence with
respect to that, and it's also informs Mr. Barrack's state of
mind as to whom --

THE COURT: I got it. I got it. I think that's right.

MR. NITZE: It's state of mind in the sense that anybody asserting something that happened reflects their state of mind that they think has happened. It's offered for its truth.

THE COURT: It's more than that. It's more than that. I see. You're objecting to the second sentence.

MR. NITZE: Yes.

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13 MR. SCHACHTER: To be clear, it informs

Mr. Barrack's understanding of who Rashid Al Malik is, as to why he's sending it to this person as we'll inquire of

Mr. Barrack in a moment.

THE COURT: Okay. This is to show -- who was this sent to?

MR. SCHACHTER: It's from Rashid.

THE COURT: To whom?

MR. SCHACHTER: To Mr. Barrack who was informing him that he sent this to this person and that informed

Mr. Barrack's understanding of who Rashid is.

THE COURT: I agree with that last rationale nation.

25 You can put it on the screen.

4197

Ladies and gentlemen, this e-mail doesn't say -pull it up, please.

We don't know from this e-mail that the document was actually sent to Sheikh Khalifa. That's what Rashid says.

Maybe it was sent to him. Maybe it wasn't sent to him. It doesn't make any difference. The purpose is to show that

Mr. Barrack was told that it was sent to him.

Okay. Go ahead.

MR. SCHACHTER: If we can go to the bottom.

- Q So Mr. Barrack, did you send the same "Where and When
- 11 | East meets West" "Chairman's Corner" to Rashid back in
- 12 November of 2015?
- 13 A I did.
- 14 Q Why?

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- 15 A Same reason.
- 16 Q Same reason being what?
- 17 A Same reason as I said with Saeed, take young Arabs who
- 18 have intersection with the West and have them proliferate or
- 19 comment or amend or note what I've set forth as a thought
- 20 piece, produces information and hopefully tolerance.
- 21 MR. SCHACHTER: And if we can zoom back out,
- 22 Mr. McCleod.
- 23 | Q He then forwards this communication and he says at the
- 24 | very top, he says, "I love and I miss you," exclamation point.
- 25 "I sent it to Sheikh Khalifa also." Do you see that?

1 A I do.

- 2 Q Is this about six months before you met a man named
- 3 Khalifa Al Ghafli?
- 4 A Yes.
- 5 Q So who is the Sheikh Khalifa that understood Rashid sent
- 6 this to?
- 7 A This is the Sheikh Khalifa Al Thani. This is the brother
- 8 of the Qatari Emir. The Khalifa Al Ghafli we talked about is
- 9 not a sheikh.
- 10 Q So this is a reference, you understood, to him sending it
- 11 to someone in Qatar?
- 12 A Yes. We discussed yesterday, his roommate basically.
- 13 Q All right. We can take that down.
- Now, I'd like to show you what's in evidence as
- 15 Government Exhibit 124. This is an e-mail where you wrote --
- 16 before that Bloomberg interview that we saw earlier in the
- 17 case, the one on your ranch.
- 18 A Yes.
- 19 Q And you wrote the words, "I have taken the responsibility
- 20 for our region." Do you see that?
- 21 A I do.
- 22 Q So, first of all, why did you share this interview with
- 23 Rashid?
- 24 A The same. I thought it was illustrative of the topics we
- 25 | had been handling.

1 Q Did you also, by the way, send links to interviews that

- 2 you gave to Rashid about subjects that didn't cover the
- 3 Middle East?
- 4 A I did.
- 5 Q What did you mean when you told Rashid, "I have taken the
- 6 responsibility for our region"?
- 7 A That "our region" means, you know, I come -- my ancestry
- 8 is from the Levant. It's not Arabia. It's part of the Middle
- 9 East. So I've taken, as you can see from the past, that
- 10 previous decade, responsibility for trying to understand how
- 11 do we breed a better web, a more understandable web amongst
- 12 them all. That's what it meant.
- 13 Q And do you feel that the Middle East is, in part, your
- 14 region as well?
- 15 A Absolutely. I have always felt that, for whatever
- 16 | modicum of success my family has, it's the result of American
- 17 freedom and democracy and Lebanese DNA.
- 18 Q Did you use that same phrase, "our region," when
- 19 | communicating with other people?
- 20 A Yes.
- 21 | Q I'm going to show you what has been marked for
- 22 | identification as Barrack Exhibit 17.
- Is this a communication that you've sent to somebody
- 24 named Naz Sykes?
- 25 A It is.

Barrack - direct - Schachter MR. SCHACHTER: We'll offer Barrack Exhibit 17. 1 2 MR. NITZE: We have a hearsay objection to this one 3 as well. If there's a certain -- if you want to just put the first sentence in, fine. The rest is a lot that is not 4 relevant to that point. 5 THE COURT: Do you need anything beyond the first 6 7 sentence? 8 MR. SCHACHTER: Well, Your Honor, I believe it shows the context of when Mr. Barrack uses this phrase and none of 9 10 this is offered for -- there's no truth here. 11 THE COURT: Okay. 12 MR. SCHACHTER: It just goes to Mr. Barrack's state 13 of mind. 14 MR. NITZE: It's not --15 THE COURT: It's all right. He's not offering to 16 show it's true. He's offering to show the context in which he 17 uses the phrase which you've shown him to use as a part of 18 your case. I don't find a problem with that. 19 MR. NITZE: Okay. There are statements in here that 20 I quess if that's -- if it's not going to be argued that 21 anything in there is true and it's just to show the context. 22 Mr. Schachter, you are so directed. THE COURT: 23 MR. SCHACHTER: Understood, Your Honor.

THE COURT: Pull it up, please.

24

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Ladies and gentlemen, again, this is not being shown

1 to you to illustrate that any statement made in here is true.

- 2 It's just to illustrate to you when Mr. Barrack uses the
- 3 phrase "our region."
- 4 Q I'd like to start with what you're responding to.
- 5 Well, first of all, who is Naz Sykes.
- 6 A Naz Sykes is one of the best friends of my wife's who is
- 7 | a bright, professional girl of Iranian descent.
- 8 Q All right. And if we just glance at the below e-mail,
- 9 | she expressed some concern about Donald Trump's election.
- 10 A Yes.
- 11 Q She writes: "The recent world events and to be honest,
- 12 still the results of the election is making me so worried for
- 13 | my family. I am counting on you to keep your eyes on the one
- 14 | who walked on water and make sure we are on the right path but
- 15 I am worried." Do you see that?
- 16 A I do.
- 17 Q Let's look at your response.
- 18 Oh, and by the way, she also mentions your interview
- 19 on CNBC. How widely would you circulate the interviews that
- 20 you did?
- 21 A Broadly.
- 22 Q All right. If we can look at the response. You write,
- 23 | "Naz, I too worry for our children, our country, for you and
- 24 for our region of origin."
- 25 Why did you refer -- what are you referring to when

- 1 you say "our region of origin"?
- 2 A Again, I'm referring to, broadly, the Middle East. Iran
- 3 where she comes from is 33 miles away from the UAE which we've
- 4 been discussing and at the end of the Persian peninsula which
- 5 ends with Lebanon and Syria which is my ancestry.
- 6 Q All right. Thank you.
- 7 MR. SCHACHTER: You can take that down.
- 8 Q All right. I'm now going to play a video of an interview
- 9 that you gave at a panel on February of 2018.
- 10 MR. SCHACHTER: Your Honor, this has been the
- 11 | subject of a prior ruling. It's Barrack Exhibit 840. We have
- 12 added additional excerpts because the government had a
- completeness request and so we added that as well. So we'll
- 14 offer Barrack Exhibit 840, 840-A which shows the, I think that
- 15 shows the timing of this, the comments, and 840-T.
- 16 THE COURT: All right. It's admitted over an
- 17 | objection that no longer includes completeness.
- 18 (Barrack Exhibits 840, 840-A and 840-T, were
- 19 received in evidence.)
- MR. SCHACHTER: That's 840-A. Are you able to blow
- 21 up just a date, Mr. McCleod?
- Okay. It says, "Published February 22, 2018." And
- 23 | now if you can play the excerpt.
- 24 (Video played.)
- 25 MR. SCHACHTER: I'm sorry. Can you pause just for

Is this a communication you had with someone named
Dina Powell in July of 2017?

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Case 1:21-cr-00371-BMC-TAM Document 395 Filed 03/15/23 Page 99 of 137 PageID #
                      Barrack - direct - Schachter
          Yes, it is.
 1
     Α
 2
          And are you making a reference to the country of Lebanon?
 3
          I am.
               MR. SCHACHTER: Your Honor, we'll offer Barrack
 4
 5
     Exhibit 18 .
 6
               MR. NITZE: I believe we proposed the redaction of a
 7
     single sentence. I don't know what your position is on that.
 8
               THE COURT: You two talk off the record for
     30 seconds.
 9
10
               (Pause.)
11
               MR. SCHACHTER: May I speak to Mr. McCleod for one
12
     moment?
13
               THE COURT: Yes.
14
               (Pause.)
               MR. SCHACHTER: Your Honor, we offer Barrack
15
     Exhibit 18 with that requested redaction.
16
17
               THE COURT: All right. It's received.
18
               (Barrack Exhibit 18, was received in evidence.)
19
          Who is Dina Powell?
20
          Dina Powell is an amazing young woman who at the time was
21
     the Deputy National Security Advisor for Strategy.
22
          And at the bottom, you wrote, "Hope you can make the
23
     meeting with Saad Hariri today. He does a good job of
24
     representing my little Lebanon. I hope you are great."
```

CMH OCR RDR FCRR

So who is Saad Hariri?

1 A Saad Hariri is a previous Prime Minister of Lebanon and

- 2 Dina's of Egyptian descent.
- 3 Q Why were you asking Dina Powell to participate in this
- 4 meeting?
- 5 A In her capacity as Deputy Security counsel to meet with
- 6 Saad Hariri for all of the issues and problems that Lebanon
- 7 was experiencing at the time.
- 8 Q Now, you said "my little Lebanon." Mr. Barrack, why did
- 9 you use the term "my little Lebanon"?
- 10 A Affectionately, letting her know, she's also of Arab
- 11 descent, that I'm still proud of my heritage.
- 12 Q All right. Now, by asking Dina Powell to meet with the
- 13 | former Prime Minister of Lebanon, were you agreeing to act
- 14 | subject to Lebanon's direction or control?
- 15 A No.
- 16 Q Why did you ask Dina Powell to meet with the former Prime
- 17 | Minister of Lebanon?
- 18 A I thought it was the right thing to do.
- 19 MR. SCHACHTER: All right. Now, take that down.
- 20 Q Turning back very briefly to that Bloomberg interview, we
- 21 | saw that you sent the link to Rashid, but did you send it to
- 22 many other people as well?
- 23 A I did.
- 24 Q I'm going to show you what's been marked as Barrack
- 25 Exhibit 19 and we'll offer it. This is a communication with

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Case 1:21-cr-00371-BMC-TAM Document 395 Filed 03/15/23 Page 101 of 137 PageID
                       Barrack - direct - Schachter
     Mohamed Alabbar?
 1
 2
          Yes, sir.
               MR. SCHACHTER: We'll offer it.
 3
 4
               MR. NITZE: No objection.
 5
               MR. LOWELL: No objection.
 6
               THE COURT: Received.
 7
                (Barrack Exhibit 19, was received in evidence.)
 8
          And is this you sending the same link to Mohamed Alabbar?
 9
          Yes.
10
          Why did you write, "I am trying"?
11
          He was very displeased, is an understatement, of the
12
     comments that the then candidate Trump, and I was explaining
13
     to him that I'm, I'm trying to engineer back a more moderate
14
     and eloquent dialogue.
15
          I'm going to show you what's marked as Barrack Exhibit 21
16
     and we'll offer it.
17
               MR. NITZE: No objection.
18
               MR. LOWELL: No objection.
19
               THE COURT: Received.
20
                (Barrack Exhibit 21, was received in evidence.)
21
          Did you send the same Bloomberg interview to Rob Lowe?
22
          I did.
23
          I'm going to show you now what's been marked as Barrack
     Exhibit 22 for identification.
24
25
```

No objection.

MR. NITZE:

- 1 A I do.
- 2 Q Why did you ask him that?
- 3 A Because I'm always begging for input on things that I
- 4 | missed or things I should understand or other elements or
- 5 | facts that are interesting from whatever constituency, yes.
- 6 Q In asking for thoughts, were you asking to be directed or
- 7 controlled?
- 8 A No.
- 9 Q Were there lots of people that you asked for thoughts on
- 10 things you were saying in interviews?
- 11 A Yes.
- 12 | Q I'm going to show you what's been marked for
- 13 identification as Barrack Exhibit 603.
- 14 Who is -- is this a text exchange you had with a man
- 15 | named Launny Steffens?
- 16 A It is.
- 17 Q Who is that?
- 18 A A director of Colony Capital, one of the members of the
- 19 board of directors.
- 20 MR. SCHACHTER: We'll offer it.
- 21 MR. NITZE: We have a hearsay objection and there's
- 22 | a particular focused objection.
- MR. SCHACHTER: I'm sure we'll be able to redact it.
- 24 If I can confer with counsel for a moment.
- THE COURT: Yes. Off the record.

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Case 1:21-cr-00371-BMC-TAM Document 395 Filed 03/15/23 Page 104 of 137 PageID
                      Barrack - direct - Schachter
 1
               (Pause.)
 2
               MR. SCHACHTER: Your Honor, we'll offer just the
 3
     first two.
 4
               THE COURT: Admitted. Okay.
               (Barrack Exhibit 603, was received in evidence.)
 5
          Who is Mr. Steffens?
 6
 7
          Launny is the head of the compensation committee for
 8
     Colony Capital and is a member of the board of directors.
 9
          He writes, "Great insights on Bloomberg." And you write,
10
     "Any thoughts," is that right?
11
          Yes.
12
          Why did you ask him for any thoughts?
13
          He's smart. He's astute. He's the CEO of an investment
14
     firm called Mountain Spring Capital and I wanted his thoughts.
          You were not intending to agree to act subject to his
15
16
     direction and control in doing so?
17
     Α
          No.
18
          I'm going to show you what's been marked as Barrack
19
     Exhibit 604 and we'll offer it.
20
               I'm sorry. Is this a communication you had with
21
     Rick Caruso?
22
          It is.
          Who is Rick Caruso?
23
24
          Rick is a friend who's currently the Democratic candidate
25
```

for mayor in Los Angeles.

Then we'll stop for the day?

THE COURT:

could be supportive of." Were you employed by the U.S. Government at this

Α No.

time?

22

23

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Cas	<del>2 1:21-cr-00371-BMC-TAM</del> Document 395 Filed 03/15/23 Page 107 of 137 PageID #* 10583 4212
	10583 4212 Barrack - direct - Schachter
1	Q Why were you asking for talking points?
2	A Again, I was excited and a proponent of a peace and
3	prosperity plan that was being generated at that time by
4	President Trump, Jared and Avi, and I wanted to educate myself
5	on what the facts were.
6	Q In so doing, were you agreeing to act subject to anyone's
7	direction or control?
8	A No.
9	MR. SCHACHTER: Your Honor, this is a good time to
10	break for the day.
11	(Continued on next page.)
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THE COURT: Okay. Ladies and gentlemen, tomorrow 1 2 morning at 9:30. Please don't do any research on the case. 3 Don't talk to anybody about the case. Stay away from any 4 publicity that might come your way and have a very good and restful night. We'll see you at 9:30 tomorrow morning. 5 6 (Jury exits.) 7 THE COURT: All right. We are adjourned until 9:30 8 tomorrow morning. MR. NITZE: Two things? 9 10 THE COURT: You can step down and everyone be 11 seated, please. 12 (Witness steps down.) 13 MR. NITZE: The first just relates to timing. I 14 don't know if Mr. Schachter, I think, he said he had more to 15 say at the end of the day, I don't want to put him on the spot 16 in terms of whether, where we are on that. 17 Then before we get to that, I guess, there is one, 18 maybe more than one, but one exhibit on the list where we have 19 the tables of objections, to 825. It's a video interview of 20 Stephen Schwarzman. He's an executive from a different 21 company saying a lot of things about his company including the 22 scale of investments. He makes a number of statements there 23 that even if you say not for truth, it just, there's a lot of 24 assertions made by someone else in a different context.

We think there's a relevance problem and a hearsay

problem. We just ask, because if there's to be a redaction, I don't know that we would object to the entirety of it, but because that's a video, it might require some doing, so I just wanted to flag that one.

MR. SCHACHTER: Your Honor, it is somebody who has been a peer of Mr. Barrack's in exactly the same industry speaking at exactly the same kind of conference where he speaks and he is saying exactly the same kind of things about Mohammed bin Salman that the government has charged Mr. Barrack with, by virtue of his saying is an illegal agent of that country. We think it's relevant.

We're not offering it for the truth. We're not offering it to show that, in fact, Mohammed bin Salman is the thing that Stephen Schwarzman is saying. We're just offering it to show that they are said and, you know, Mr. Barrack observes what his, what others in his industry say and this is what they all are saying at that time frame about the leaders of these countries.

THE COURT: Isn't it kind of a big leap to show one other person in the industry and say, A- Ha, he's the same as Mr. Barrack and, therefore, it's the whole industry? I mean we're talking about thousands of people here.

MR. SCHACHTER: I certainly understand the Court's comments. We think that given the fact that it's happening at exactly the same time frame and he is in exactly the same

industry and, by the way, he is also talking about the fact 1 2 that they -- he is at that conference in Saudi Arabia and is 3 saying the same things that Mr. Barrack is. We just think that it gives the jury a picture of what private equity firm 4 5 leaders say about, about these people. 6 THE COURT: Isn't it a picture of what two private 7 equity leaders say? That might be misleading. I will think 8 about that. Do I have the video? 9 10 MR. SCHACHTER: Your Honor, I can provide a 11 transcript for the Court's consideration overnight if that 12 would be helpful. 13 THE COURT: All right. And what about Mr. Nitze's 14 point, are you going to offer the whole thing or redact it? 15 MR. SCHACHTER: No, it's not the whole thing. We 16 would offer just a short excerpt. 17 THE COURT: Send me the transcript. I'm going to 18 rule on it tonight or tomorrow morning when we convene. 19 Please have it marked to show which part you want to get in. 20 MR. SCHACHTER: Yes, Your Honor. 21 MR. NITZE: And I take it, we would be open to then 22 showing different people saying different things? 23 THE COURT: Here's the problem. If you had an 24 expert with a scientific survey saying, I surveyed all the

hedge fund people and investment people and here's what they

25

say, that might be worth more than this.

I will take that into account. I think Mr. Nitze's right. If you are going to call somebody who sounds like Mr. Barrack, he can call somebody who doesn't sound like Mr. Barrack, and I'm not sure I want to go down that road.

MR. JACKSON: Your Honor, may I make one point about that. I do think that we're talking about two different things where Mr. Nitze says he can call someone else.

Their entire point is that no one but an agent would say these things. So we have a very significant person in the industry who is saying these things in connection with their business. It's just a powerful illustrative example of a counter to that point. So the fact that there may be people with different opinions I would argue doesn't have the same relevance but I think Your Honor understands what we're saying and we'll submit our, we'll submit our transcript.

THE COURT: Okay. Is Mr. Barrack going to lay a foundation for who Schwarzman is?

MR. JACKSON: Absolutely, Judge.

MR. NITZE: We ask you -- it's not remotely our point about the videos, as will become clear, but we do think we should be permitted to provide similar contexts of people saying different things and to the extent you are inclined to allow this video in for the purpose proffered, which we think raises a 403 problem, among others, for the reason I just said

about a mini trial, but the statements about the size of investment, there's some concern we have.

They could call Mr. Schwarzman but they're trying to get across to the jury that Blackstone which is a much larger organization has a bigger scale of investment from these UAE funds and that somehow, what's going on here is a smaller matter. That's one aspect of our objection.

THE COURT: Let's assume I were to open the door to a mini trial and you could find an ideal witness, what would he say? Would he be in a similar position to Mr. Barrack or Mr. Schwarzman and he'd say, I think we were all wrong and I thought so at the time?

MR. NITZE: I don't need a witness, I assume.

Mr. Schwarzman is not here. We're going to find video clips.

Just like they have a video clip, we'll look for other video clips. Jamal Khashoggi might be a name that surfaces again in terms of people saying different things than Mr. Barrack.

THE COURT: Is he an investment guy?

MR. NITZE: We'll get back to you, Your Honor, on a proffer.

THE COURT: I will think about it, I'll read the transcript and I'll let you know what I want to do tomorrow morning.

Anything else?

MR. SCHACHTER: Yes, we submitted a letter under

PROCEEDINGS 1 seal regarding Mr. Barrack 's potential cross-examination and 2 that is something that we know, again, the Court has a lot on 3 its plate, but that affects what we may do tomorrow with 4 Mr. Barrack to the extent --5 MR. HARRIS: We're going to file a response tonight, Your Honor. 6 7 THE COURT: You're not going to just say, We're not 8 going to ask him about that? 9 MR. HARRIS: No. 10 THE COURT: File it. Something else for me to do 11 tomorrow. 12 MR. HARRIS: Sorry. I don't think we got an answer 13 from Mr. Schachter on timing. 14 MR. SCHACHTER: I think we'll take the day. 15 THE COURT: Really? 16 MR. SCHACHTER: I do. Look, Your Honor, I mean, we 17 spent probably five days reading text messages, sometimes 18 repeatedly, and we apologize that the defense case comes at 19 the very end of the case when people want to wrap up, but this 20 is the most -- I mean we submit this is probably the most 21 important part of the case. 22 I'm not going to cut you off. I'm not THE COURT: 23

going to cut off the defendant in a case like this where the examination, in my view, has not been redundant or unnecessary. So if that's what you've got to do, that's what

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you've got do. I would simply urge you, you know, maybe not every stone needs to be uncovered. If you have 20 points to cover and you only cover 19 of the 20 stones in each point, well, then you've got 20 stones you didn't cover and that would be a lot of time.

MR. SCHACHTER: It would be helpful, Your Honor, if the government would start conceding the lack of merit of many of the points that it made in its evidence and it would help us to cross certain things off the list. We would welcome that and I would imagine that they may be thinking that themselves.

THE COURT: Well, I think you're unduly optimistic.

Look, I'm not going to say anything. I'll see you tomorrow morning at 9:30.

MR. JACKSON: I'm sorry, Your Honor, may I raise one small additional point? I just don't know -- I wanted to raise it but I didn't know the appropriate place.

There was a point during one of the cross-examinations when at a sidebar, Mr. Heeren asked whether I had access to grand jury material beyond -- he said it appeared I had access to grand jury material beyond what I was utilizing.

I did not and I just want, you know -- for me, for a number of reasons, that accusation has potential, carries a number of potential issues. So I just wanted to make sure

- PROCEEDINGS 1 that the government, having gone back and looked at their 2 notes, is now confident that all my questions could have been 3 established on the basis of the grand jury material that they 4 disclosed to me. 5 THE COURT: Are you asking them to take it back? MR. JACKSON: Yes, Your Honor. 6 7 THE COURT: I have noticed, Mr. Heeren, you can get 8 pretty aggressive, right? This could be one excessive step you took. 9 10 MR. HEEREN: Your Honor, I completely understand 11 your point but I believe if we check the transcript, I said at 12 the sidebar that I was not accusing him of that and that --13 and I'll say it again. 14 THE COURT: First, you accused him, and then you 15 said, I'm not accusing him of that. MR. HEEREN: No. Your Honor, respectfully, what I 16 17 was trying to say, and I will clarify it again, was that we 18 received a ruling that the grand jury testimony of which 19
- Mr. Jackson was asking about was outside of the scope of the 20 examination.
- 21 THE COURT: That's all were you saying?
- 22 That's all I was trying to say, MR. HEEREN:
- 23 Your Honor. If I said anything more than that, I certainly
- 24 did not intend that.
- 25 All right. There you are, Mr. Jackson. THE COURT:

Cas	e 1:21-cr-00371-BMC-TAM Document 395 Filed 03/15/23 Page 116 of 137 PageID #:
	10592 PROCEEDINGS 4221
1	There was an accusation that's withdrawn but Mr. Heeren says
2	there was no accusation so you're double protected.
3	MR. JACKSON: Thank you, Your Honor.
4	MR. SCHACHTER: I'm handing to the Court Barrack
5	Exhibit 725-T.
6	THE COURT: Thank you.
7	9:30 tomorrow morning.
8	(Matter adjourned to October 26, 2022 at 9:30 a.m.)
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24	
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Cas	2 1:21-cr-00371-BMC-TAM Document 395 Filed 03/15 10593 PROCEEDINGS	/ <mark>23 Page 117 of 137 PageID #</mark> 4222
1		
1	I N D E X WITNESS	PAGE
2	THOMAS BARRACK	
3	DIRECT EXAMINATION BY MR. SCHACHTER	4108
4	EXHIBITS GOVERNMENT	PAGE
5	216	4111
6	77 BARRACK	4153 PAGE
7	32	4167
8	3004	4119
9	602	4132
10	1102	4133
11	14	4137
12	942, 943, 944 and 945	4146
13	15	4155
14	811 and 811-A	4180
15	826 and 826-A	4181
16	16	4185
17	7	4193
18	840, 840-A and 840-T	4202
19	18	4204
20	19	4206
21	21	4206
22	22	4207
23	603	4209
24	604	4210
25	605	4211

```
4159/2 42210594
                                                         4119/9 4119/13 4222/8
                            16 [4] 4183/10 4183/20
                                                         3044 [1] 4123/24
MR. HARRIS: [3] 4218/5
                             4185/4 4222/16
                                                         3092 [1] 4128/23
4218/9 4218/12
                            17 [2] 4199/22 4200/1 18 [5] 4203/23 4204/5
                                                         30th [3] 4160/8 4160/14
MR. HEEREN: [3] 4220/10
                                                         4161/5
4220/16 4220/22
                             4204/16 4204/18 4222/19
                                                         31 [1] 4166/6
MR. JACKSON: [5] 4216/6
                            18-hour [1] 4133/19
                                                         319 [1] 4173/15
4216/19 4219/15 4220/6
                                                         32 [3] 4167/12 4167/17
                            180 [1] 4189/6
 4221/3
                            19 [4] 4205/25 4206/7 4219/3 4222/7
MR. LOWELL: [13] 4111/7
                             4222/20
                                                         33 miles [1] 4202/3
 4119/11 4131/21 4133/5
                            1901 [1] 4107/7
                                                         353 [1] 4174/7
 4137/11 4146/14 4167/15
                            1920s [1] 4189/9
                                                         362 [1] 4174/12
 4192/25 4206/5 4206/18
                            1932 [1] 4187/16 1:15 [1] 4106/5
                                                         364 [1]
 4207/3 4210/4 4211/14
                                                         371 [1]
MR. NITZE: [52] 4111/6
                            1st [5] 4109/17 4111/11
                                                         384 [1]
 4113/23 4119/7 4119/10
                             4137/14 4153/16 4153/20
                                                         388 [1]
                                                                 4174/21
 4124/10 4124/15 4124/24
                                                         3:15 [1] 4176/12
 4125/6 4125/13 4130/15
                                                         3rd [3] 4141/9 4142/1
 4133/4 4137/10 4141/1 4146/7 20 [4] 4157/22 4176/10
                                                         4153/20
 4146/9 4146/13 4153/2
                                                         4
                            20 percent [1] 4188/6
 4154/22 4167/14 4168/24
                            20 points [1] 4219/2
                                                         400 [1] 4107/4
 4172/13 4175/5 4178/25
                            200 years [1] 4189/8
                                                         403 [1] 4216/25
 4183/7 4183/21 4184/2
                            20036 [1] 4107/7
                                                         415 [2] 4141/15 4142/1
 4184/16 4192/24 4195/15
                            2014 [2] 4180/24 4181/10
                                                         441 [1] 4176/1
 4195/18 4196/6 4196/12
                            2015 [6] 4180/8 4183/2
                                                         443 [1] 4176/1
 4200/2 4200/14 4200/19
                            4185/9 4193/7 4195/11
                                                         45 [1] 4150/22
 4204/6 4206/4 4206/17
                            4197/12
                                                         4th [1] 4152/8
 4206/25 4207/2 4208/21
                            2016 [11] 4111/11 4129/5
 4210/3 4211/13 4213/9
                            4129/9 4136/16 4166/7
4213/13 4215/21 4216/20
                            4166/21 4169/4 4169/8
                                                         50 [2] 4151/10 4164/6
4217/13 4217/19
                            4179/16 4179/18 4181/20
                                                         535 [1] 4145/17
MR. SCHACHTER: [112]
                            2017 [1] 4203/25
                                                         5:50 [1] 4167/7
THE CLERK: [1] 4203/4
                            2018 [3] 4135/10 4202/9
THE COURT: [97]
                                                         6
                             4202/22
THE COURTROOM DEPUTY: [1]
                            2020 [2] 4211/9 4211/17
                                                         602 [4] 4131/4 4131/15
4108/2
                            2022 [3] 4106/5 4130/7
                                                         4132/6 4222/9
THE WITNESS: [4] 4114/1
                             4221/8
                                                         603 [3] 4208/13 4209/5
 4182/4 4182/6 4207/14
                            21 [3] 4206/15 4206/20
                                                         4222/23
                             4222/21
                                                         604 [4] 4209/19 4210/2
                            21-CR-371 [1] 4106/2
                                                         4210/6 4222/24
's [3] 4177/24 4195/11
                            211 [1] 4109/19
                                                         605 [4] 4211/3 4211/12
 4218/1
                            214 [1] 4109/4
                                                         4211/16 4222/25
'trucial' [1] 4186/20
                            216 [5] 4111/4 4111/9 4195/5 69 [2] 4120/19 4120/25
                             4195/14 4222/5
                            22 [4] 4202/22 4206/24
-----
                             4207/5 4222/22
                                                         7,000 years [1] 4192/10
-x [2] 4106/2 4106/8
                            220 [1] 4116/14
                                                         718 [3] 4106/22 4107/20
-versus [1] 4106/5
                            223 [1] 4117/4
                                                         4107/21
                            23 [2] 4181/10 4193/7
                                                         725-T [1] 4221/5
                                                         73 [1] 4162/24
                            23rd [1] 4185/9
10 [3] 4130/5 4144/24
                                                         74 miles [1] 4145/10
                            243 [1] 4178/5
4145/13
                            25 [2] 4106/5 4182/13
                                                         75 miles [1] 4145/9
100 [1] 4157/22
                            26 [1] 4221/8
                                                         77 [3] 4152/25 4153/7 4222/6
10019 [1] 4106/19
                                                         787 [1] 4106/19
                            263 [1] 4139/1
10036 [1] 4107/4
                            264 [1] 4141/7
                                                         7th [1] 4153/16
1057 [1] 4149/11
                            269 [1] 4152/4
10th [1] 4157/6
                                                         8
                            27 [4] 4166/7 4172/17
11 [1] 4172/21
                                                         80 [1] 4159/19
                             4172/21 4172/25
110-degree [1] 4145/10
                                                         804-2777 [2] 4106/22 4107/20 804-2795 [1] 4107/21
                            271 [2] 4106/14 4152/19
1102 [4] 4132/22 4133/3
                            272 [1] 4157/6
 4133/7 4222/10
                                                         811 [5] 4179/23 4179/24
                            2777 [2] 4106/22 4107/20
11201 [1] 4106/14
                                                         4179/24 4180/5 4222/14
                            2795 [1] 4107/21
12 [2] 4124/3 4124/9
                            2nd [1] 4141/8
                                                         811-A [4] 4179/23 4179/25
124 [2] 4198/15 4207/22
                                                         4180/5 4222/14
14 [4] 4137/6 4137/9 4137/13 3
                                                         825 [1]
                                                                 4213/19
 4222/11
                             30 seconds [1] 4204/9
                                                         826 [3] 4180/23 4181/3
15 [7] 4145/13 4154/16
                            300 [1] 4173/15
                                                          4222/15
 4154/19 4155/7 4157/22
                                                         826-A [3] 4180/23 4181/3
                            3004 [5] 4119/5 4119/9
```

```
acting [2] 10595/15 4136/10
8
                                                            agreement [2] 4134/7 4189/19
                              actively [1] 4185/23
                                                            agriculture [1] 4187/3
826-A... [1] 4222/15
                                                            ahead [1] 4197/8
                              actuality [1] 4188/6
840 [4] 4202/11 4202/14
                              ADAI [1] 4187/4
                                                            aid [1] 4173/14
4202/18 4222/18
                              adapt [1] 4189/3
                                                            aided [2] 4106/25 4107/24
840-A [4] 4202/14 4202/18
                              added [7] 4121/3 4121/6
                                                            airbase [1] 4186/2
 4202/20 4222/18
                               4121/9 4121/10 4121/11
                                                            airport [3] 4140/15 4140/16
840-T [3] 4202/15 4202/18
                                                             4143/24
                               4202/12 4202/13
 4222/18
                              addition [10] 4120/12
                                                            al [21] 4138/1 4139/6
851-T [1]
          4173/13
                               4123/18 4126/21 4133/24
                                                             4152/21 4166/21 4167/5
                               4135/16 4137/3 4158/15
                                                             4167/19 4178/8 4186/4
                               4159/4 4181/18 4207/23
                                                             4186/18 4186/21 4187/15
901 [1]
         4172/3
                                                             4192/19 4193/3 4193/4 4194/3
                              additional [3] 4156/22
942 [5]
        4146/3 4146/12
                               4202/12 4219/16
                                                             4195/7 4195/25 4196/14
 4146/16 4147/7 4222/12
                                          4153/14 4153/17
                              address [4]
                                                             4198/3 4198/7 4198/8
943 [5] 4146/3 4146/12
                               4153/23 4159/20
                                                            Al-Hajeri [3] 4193/3 4193/4
 4146/16 4147/1 4222/12
                              addressing [2]
                                             4178/15
                                                             4194/3
944 [5] 4146/3 4146/12
                               4203/18
                                                            Alabbar [4] 4118/22 4118/24
 4146/16 4146/18 4222/12
                              ADIA [9]
                                       4155/18 4156/1
                                                             4206/1 4206/8
945 [5] 4146/3 4146/12
                               4156/9 4157/1 4159/10
                                                            Ali [1]
                                                                    4178/8
 4146/16 4146/21 4222/12
                               4159/13 4164/22 4165/5
                                                            align [1] 4174/23
994 [1] 4144/4
                                                            aligned [3] 4118/17 4175/19
                               4165/18
9:30 [6] 4213/2 4213/5
                              ADIC [12] 4155/13 4155/14
                                                             4177/17
4213/7 4219/14 4221/7 4221/8
                               4155/16 4156/1 4156/9
                                                            alignment [1] 4177/18
9th [1] 4116/15
                               4156/10 4156/16 4156/22
                                                            alleged [4] 4179/15 4180/8
                                                             4181/13 4181/19
                               4156/23 4156/25 4159/10
                               4159/13
                                                            alliance [3] 4135/24 4166/19
a.m [1]
       4221/8
                              adjourned [2] 4213/7 4221/8
                                                             4187/24
AB [1] 4178/6
                              administered [1] 4188/18
                                                            allies [6] 4174/23 4175/21
ABBE [1] 4107/8
                                                             4177/10 4177/10 4177/15
                              admiration [2] 4130/12
Abdulaziz [1] 4187/15
                               4186/24
                                                             4187/21
abhorrent [1] 4189/4
                              admit [1] 4127/6
                                                            allow [1] 4216/24
ability [2] 4162/3 4171/3
                              admitted [7] 4155/6 4162/23
                                                            allowed [2] 4188/20 4189/9
able [6] 4118/9 4118/13
                               4180/4 4184/7 4185/2 4202/16
                                                            allowing [1] 4191/2
4124/25 4149/9 4202/20
                               4209/4
                                                            almost [2] 4140/14 4181/12
 4208/23
                              admonished [1] 4132/8
                                                            Alongside [1] 4187/16
Abraham [2] 4175/19 4211/11
                                                            aloud [1] 4185/20
                              advance [7] 4109/2 4141/4
abroad [1] 4113/14
                               4141/5 4141/21 4143/18
                                                            Alwaleed [9] 4130/25 4131/6
absolutely [9] 4126/5
                               4154/17 4155/2
                                                             4131/8 4131/9 4132/13 4133/1
 4148/24 4152/2 4174/2
                              advantage [1] 4163/24
                                                             4133/2 4133/8 4159/6
 4179/17 4180/18 4184/14
                              advantageous [1] 4188/10
                                                            amazing [4] 4111/22 4159/24
 4199/15 4216/19
                              adviser [1] 4114/23
                                                             4170/1 4204/20
Abu [22] 4111/14 4115/7
                              Advisor [4] 4109/15 4110/9
                                                            ambassador [10]
                                                                            4123/20
 4115/8 4116/6 4116/20
                               4143/1 4204/21
                                                             4123/25 4125/22 4126/13
 4117/14 4118/7 4118/13
                              advisory [1] 4114/23
                                                             4126/15 4126/16 4128/11
 4127/3 4143/10 4154/10
                              advocates [1] 4135/17
                                                             4128/18 4130/21 4186/13
 4155/17 4155/18 4157/1
                              Affectionately [1] 4205/10
                                                            amend [1] 4197/19
 4176/1 4178/6 4180/16
                              affects [1] 4218/3
                                                            amended [1] 4112/12
 4186/22 4187/5 4188/11
                              affirmed [1] 4108/18
                                                            AMERICA [5] 4106/3 4129/21
 4203/14 4211/17
                              Africa [2] 4147/23 4147/25
                                                             4135/10 4135/11 4177/10
Abu Dhabi [5] 4186/22 4187/5
                              afternoon [6] 4108/12
                                                            American [5] 4134/7 4135/11
4188/11 4203/14 4211/17
                                                             4173/5 4193/14 4199/16
                              4108/14 4108/20 4108/21
accelerate [1] 4191/10
                               4176/21 4189/24
                                                            Americans [5] 4112/22 4135/1
accept [2] 4136/23 4191/1
                              age [1] 4186/14
                                                             4190/5 4190/6 4193/15
accepted [1] 4161/17
                              agencies [1] 4193/18
                                                            Americans' [1] 4193/21
access [5] 4191/22 4191/22
                                                            Americas [1] 4135/10
                              Agency [1] 4136/3
4191/23 4219/20 4219/21
                              agent [10] 4129/11 4129/13
                                                            amount [1] 4169/5
accompanying [1] 4189/11
                               4134/15 4136/10 4149/3
                                                            analyzing [1] 4193/16
Accords [2] 4175/19 4211/11
                               4149/5 4151/20 4152/1
                                                            ancestry [2] 4199/7 4202/5
account [1] 4216/2
                               4214/10 4216/9
                                                            Angeles [2] 4107/4 4209/25
accurate [2]
             4179/10 4195/1
                              aggressive [1] 4220/8
                                                            Anglicans [1] 4190/8
accusation [3] 4219/24
                              ago [3] 4182/13 4192/20
                                                                          4161/23
                                                            announced [1]
 4221/1 4221/2
                               4193/9
                                                            announcing [2] 4143/1 4169/5
accused [2] 4129/11 4220/14
                              agonizing [1] 4191/10
                                                            answer [4] 4114/2 4170/25
accusing [2] 4220/12 4220/15
                              agree [9] 4113/21 4114/6
                                                             4173/18 4218/12
achievements [1]
                 4188/14
                               4125/17 4151/22 4177/23
                                                            anti [2] 4127/16 4127/16
acronyms [1]
             4158/24
                               4177/24 4196/24 4209/15
                                                            anti-Islam [1]
                                                                           4127/16
act [4] 4205/13 4209/15
                               4210/19
                                                            anti-racist [1] 4127/16
 4210/19 4212/6
                              agreeing [2] 4205/13 4212/6
                                                            apartment [1] 4129/7
```

```
associates 10596185/15
Α
                                                           based [2]
                                                                     4169/3 4187/19
                                        4217/8 4217/13
                                                           basis [4]
                                                                     4120/5 4155/6
                              assume [2]
Apollo [1] 4158/22
                              assumed [2] 4110/18 4142/17
                                                            4178/1 4220/3
apologize [1] 4218/18
                                                           basket [1] 4147/25
                             assure [1] 4181/25
appear [4] 4167/25 4170/18
                             astute [1] 4209/13
                                                           Bassam [1] 4116/5
4170/22 4189/15
                             Atlantic [1] 4135/24
                                                           baton [1] 4194/10
appearances [4] 4106/12
                             attached [1] 4166/12
                                                           bcc [1] 4120/22
4107/2 4170/9 4171/11
                             attachment [4] 4109/22
                                                           beautiful [2] 4147/16
appeared [1] 4219/21
                              4141/16 4166/7 4183/22
                                                            4186/11
applause [1] 4186/24
                             attacked [1] 4136/1
                                                           because [17] 4115/15 4117/1
appointed [1] 4114/22
                                                            4118/19 4121/20 4127/4
                             attempt [2] 4122/2 4182/13
appreciate [2] 4193/22
                             attempting [3]
                                            4117/18
                                                            4127/5 4150/11 4174/5
 4207/20
                              4160/20 4188/16
                                                            4175/17 4191/16 4191/20
appreciation [1] 4151/9
                              attended [1]
                                                            4192/2 4192/12 4202/12
                                           4110/5
appropriate [2] 4116/25
                              attention [1]
                                           4185/17
                                                            4208/3 4214/1 4214/3
4219/17
                             Attitudes [1]
                                            4189/5
                                                           begging [4] 4128/1 4128/2
April [1]
          4179/16
                              attract [1]
                                          4134/21
                                                            4170/12 4208/3
Arab [21]
          4112/13 4126/8
                              attribute [1] 4191/6
                                                           beginning [6]
                                                                         4130/8 4136/17
 4126/16 4127/19 4129/19
                                                            4136/18 4139/2 4145/19
                             August [17] 4136/16 4136/18
 4147/24 4150/15 4151/1
                              4136/24 4137/14 4141/8
                                                            4187/18
 4151/9 4170/4 4174/16
                               4141/9 4142/1 4152/8 4153/16 behalf [1]
                                                                      4116/20
 4174/22 4175/20 4186/13
                              4153/20 4157/6 4160/7
                                                           belief [6]
                                                                      4114/1 4114/3
 4186/16 4187/13 4188/23
                              4160/14 4161/5 4166/21
                                                            4163/19 4175/3 4175/3
 4189/18 4193/14 4194/6
                                                            4187/12
                              4169/4 4169/8
 4205/10
                                                           beliefs [1] 4175/5
                             August 3rd [1]
                                             4142/1
Arab-American [1] 4193/14
                             AUSA [5] 4106/15 4106/15
                                                           below [3] 4165/1 4166/1
Arabia [16] 4148/11 4151/5
                               4106/16 4106/16 4106/17
                                                            4201/8
 4151/23 4158/25 4166/20
                             authority [3] 4117/23
                                                           bench [1] 4119/22
 4174/22 4175/2 4175/9
                              4139/13 4157/1
                                                           benefit [1] 4163/8
 4175/23 4177/9 4180/17
                                                           Berkowitz [3] 4211/4 4211/6
                             authorized [1] 4116/20
 4187/14 4188/9 4188/11
                             auto [1] 4140/2
                                                            4211/7
4199/8 4215/2
                             available [1] 4151/15
                                                           best [12] 4126/7 4126/11
Arabian [4] 4131/10 4150/9
                             Avenue [1] 4106/19
                                                            4132/18 4139/22 4151/14
4186/1 4187/18
                             Avi [5] 4211/4 4211/6 4211/7
                                                            4171/1 4171/24 4177/10
Arabic [1] 4151/2
                              4211/17 4212/4
                                                            4187/6 4187/10 4201/6 4210/9
Arabism [1] 4188/25
                             avid [1] 4130/3
                                                           Betts [2] 4106/22 4107/20
Arabs [10] 4112/20 4121/12
                             awaiting [1] 4161/9
                                                           beyond [4] 4171/3 4200/6
 4122/6 4122/8 4126/19
                             awarded [1] 4130/7
                                                            4219/20 4219/21
 4169/16 4174/12 4189/14
                             aware [1] 4110/12
                                                           big [4] 4110/16 4110/18
 4189/17 4197/17
                                                            4112/14 4214/19
Aramco [2] 4187/17 4187/18
                             В
                                                           bigger [1] 4217/5
areas [2] 4148/2 4182/17
                             baby [2] 4118/15 4189/7
                                                           biggest [2] 4158/19 4191/18
arena [1]
          4195/2
                             backed [1] 4176/3
                                                           bike [7] 4144/14 4144/19
arenas [1] 4162/9
                             backers [1] 4111/19
                                                            4145/10 4145/19 4147/5
Argentina [2] 4135/5 4135/13
                             background [7] 4114/25
                                                            4147/11 4159/24
Argentine [1] 4207/11
                              4116/6 4151/10 4163/10
                                                           biked [1] 4145/13
argue [1] 4216/14
                              4164/14 4184/7 4184/11
                                                           bikes [2] 4145/2 4147/2
argued [1] 4200/20
                             backing [1] 4187/14
                                                           biking [1] 4145/9
ARGUELLO [1] 4107/8
                             bad [2] 4191/2 4191/8
                                                           bin [26] 4109/22 4111/18
Aries [1] 4158/21
                                                            4111/18 4117/13 4119/1
                             Bahrain [1] 4175/23
array [2] 4170/23 4170/23
                                                            4130/14 4131/9 4137/23
                             balance [1] 4113/10
arrived [1] 4143/23
                                                            4138/1 4142/22 4148/9
                             balanced [1] 4120/1
arrow [1] 4174/19
                             BALLEW [1] 4106/21
                                                            4148/17 4148/17 4149/7
article [1] 4143/5
                             ban [7] 4112/11 4126/20
                                                            4149/12 4150/3 4151/21
articulate [1] 4126/16
                              4127/6 4128/14 4139/17
                                                            4156/7 4156/23 4186/9
arts [1] 4110/7
                              4161/2 4169/6
                                                            4186/10 4186/19 4186/20
Asian [1] 4190/1
                                                            4187/8 4214/9 4214/13
                             Bank [6] 4110/5 4143/5
aside [1] 4153/19
                              4143/7 4143/10 4143/10
                                                           bint [1] 4186/11
aspect [1] 4217/7
                              4143/15
                                                           bio [2] 4109/22 4109/25
asserting [1] 4196/7
                             Barely [1] 4121/21
                                                           biography [1] 4142/22
assertions [1] 4213/24
                             BARRACK [105]
                                                           bit [6] 4110/3 4112/6
assets [3] 4155/21 4163/11
                             Barrack's [11]
                                            4124/19
                                                            4119/15 4121/24 4151/10
 4164/14
                              4124/23 4125/15 4131/18
                                                            4162/21
assigned [5] 4145/11 4145/21
                               4146/2 4154/21 4196/2
                                                           Blackstone [2] 4158/18
 4147/9 4152/17 4152/18
                              4196/14 4196/23 4200/12
                                                            4217/4
assistant [4] 4150/23 4151/3
                              4214/6
                                                           blend [1] 4189/1
 4211/7 4211/9
                             barrier [1] 4150/14
                                                           blessed [1] 4190/3
associated [2]
               4111/12
                             Barron [2] 4130/4 4130/4
                                                                          4172/8 4177/7
                                                           Bloomberg [14]
 4116/8
                             base [1] 4155/3
                                                            4178/2 4178/18 4180/7
```

Case 1:21-cr-00371-BMC-TAIV	Document 395 Filed 03/15/2	3 Page 121 of 137 PageID #:
В	c 10597	4139/11
		chairman [6] 4110/5 4118/24
<b>Bloomberg</b> [9] 4180/24	cadence [1] 4151/11	4143/9 4143/15 4156/16
4181/9 4198/16 4205/20	Cadman [1] 4106/14	4195/11
4206/21 4207/6 4207/16	calendar [2] 4109/9 4109/11	Chairman's [10] 4182/7
4207/25 4209/9	California [3] 4107/4	4182/10 4182/12 4183/4
<b>blow [7]</b> 4110/2 4119/14	4136/20 4172/24	4183/13 4185/11 4192/20
4124/12 4125/4 4152/6	calves [1] 4165/13	
4195/17 4202/20	camel [1] 4133/17	4193/8 4194/24 4197/11
blowing [1] 4190/13	camels [1] 4191/21	Chang [2] 4152/11 4152/14
BMC [1] 4106/2	campaign [29] 4110/22	change [8] 4122/11 4122/21
board [2] 4208/19 4209/8	4111/12 4111/24 4113/1	4135/25 4150/5 4162/15
boat [4] 4144/7 4144/21	4114/7 4115/3 4117/16	4174/24 4188/21 4189/24
4144/23 4147/14	4119/21 4119/23 4123/12	<b>changed</b> [6] 4112/12 4121/3
bobbing [1] 4190/13	4128/18 4128/20 4129/2	4121/13 4121/14 4151/8
1	4131/1 4133/25 4138/7 4138/8	4192/9
bombs [1] 4128/5		<b>changes</b> [5] 4120/15 4121/1
boots [1] 4188/25	4138/10 4138/12 4138/13	4121/18 4123/5 4123/12
border [1] 4134/9	4138/18 4138/22 4139/18	changing [4] 4123/1 4160/25
borders [1] 4189/13	4140/7 4150/13 4161/22	4161/1 4189/5
bottom [15] 4111/10 4124/13		channels [1] 4171/6
4125/3 4125/20 4139/5 4139/8		chapter [1] 4191/8
4152/4 4156/14 4158/4 4164/6		charactering [1] 4175/5
4164/6 4164/7 4172/17 4197/9		charged [2] 4151/19 4214/9
4204/22	candidacy [1] 4134/20	check [1] 4220/11
<b>bought</b> [1] 4131/12	candidate [27] 4112/4	checkered [1] 4172/8
boundaries [3] 4188/22	4112/10 4112/14 4113/10	cheering [1] 4210/9
4189/19 4190/14	4115/14 4116/7 4119/22	Chief [1] 4156/4
<b>boundary</b> [1] 4189/15	4120/2 4121/14 4122/5 4122/7	
<b>BOWMAN</b> [1] 4107/5	4122/20 4126/18 4128/10	children [2] 4191/5 4201/23
boy [1] 4187/13	4129/22 4130/3 4132/16	China [1] 4120/4
brand [2] 4165/15 4170/25	4134/7 4136/1 4138/19	church [1] 4189/25
break [3] 4111/23 4176/7	4150/12 4169/4 4175/4	churches [1] 4190/5
4212/10	4178/20 4178/25 4206/12	chute [1] 4130/12
breed [1] 4199/11	4209/24	circulate [3] 4193/19
breeze [1] 4158/7	candidate's [1] 4162/3	4194/15 4201/19
BRIAN [2] 4106/9 4108/3	candidates [4] 4112/13	circumstances [1] 4190/14
bridge [1] 4127/21	4112/24 4113/5 4163/23	Citibank [2] 4131/12 4159/7
bridging [1] 4185/23	capacity [1] 4205/5	citizen [1] 4161/25
brief [3] 4156/10 4163/10	capital [12] 4154/1 4157/12	city [3] 4129/7 4133/15
4164/14	4158/3 4158/23 4169/16	4187/10
briefly [1] 4205/20	4170/1 4170/3 4185/16 4187/9	civilization [1] 4192/9
bright [5] 4115/1 4115/18	4208/18 4209/8 4209/14	civilized [1] 4190/23
4145/12 4193/4 4201/7	capitalize [1] 4163/12	claim [1] 4138/23
brightest [1] 4126/7	caps [1] 4127/4	claims [1] 4134/23
bringing [1] 4138/3	car [1] 4145/2	clarify [3] 4122/2 4175/7
British [1] 4186/23	carries [1] 4219/24	4220/17
Brits [1] 4190/7	Caruso [5] 4209/21 4209/23	<b>clear [21]</b> 4116/16 4120/9
broadly [6] 4182/18 4193/19	4210/7 4210/13 4210/18	4121/20 4121/24 4122/22
	case [11] 4136/11 4165/11	4123/5 4123/13 4127/24
4194/15 4194/19 4201/21 4202/2		4129/8 4138/11 4140/20
4202/2 Brooklyn [2] 4106/4 4106/14	4176/12 4198/17 4200/18	4151/19 4153/15 4153/19
_	4213/2 4213/3 4218/18	4160/12 4161/20 4166/9
brother [1] 4198/7	4218/19 4218/21 4218/23	4190/3 4190/14 4196/13
brothers [1] 4148/20	CASEY [1] 4106/21	4216/21
brought [2] 4145/3 4150/24	Caso [1] 4134/12	climate [3] 4135/25 4163/11
build [2] 4127/21 4163/9	catalysts [1] 4186/5	4164/16
building [3] 4134/9 4163/6	Catholic [1] 4190/7	Clinton [2] 4113/13 4150/14
4163/16	Catholics [1] 4190/9	clip [1] 4217/15
bunch [1] 4141/18	cattle [1] 4165/15	clips [2] 4217/14 4217/16
bureaucrat [1] 4116/19	caused [3] 4127/15 4189/11	CLO [8] 4155/13 4155/14
business [15] 4138/9 4140/6	4191/2	4155/19 4156/9 4158/2
4144/9 4155/20 4158/17	CCR [2] 4106/22 4107/20	4159/10 4159/13 4192/6
4163/25 4164/1 4171/6	CDO [1] 4192/6	close [2] 4147/19 4187/21
4171/10 4182/21 4191/14	center [1] 4174/17	clothes [1] 4150/5
4191/17 4194/6 4203/13	century [1] 4187/22	club [1] 4170/6
4216/12	<b>CEO [2]</b> 4193/5 4209/13	CNBC [1] 4201/19
businessman [1] 4110/6	certain [2] 4200/3 4219/9	CNN [1] 4207/24
businessmen [2] 4131/14	certainly [3] 4176/20	coalition [1] 4186/20
4132/17	4214/23 4220/23	code [1] 4128/3
		, [-] 1140/0
	<b>chain [3]</b> 4139/3 4139/5	coffee [8] 4111/20 4112/2

```
confidence 10598190/24
С
                                                            conversations [1] 4160/18
                              confident [1] 4220/2
                                                            copying [1] 4141/11
coffee... [6] 4113/16
                              confidential [1] 4123/4
                                                            Corey [1] 4138/23
4123/18 4126/10 4150/22
                              confirm [1] 4151/20
                                                            Corner [10] 4182/8 4182/11
4150/23 4150/23
                              conflicts [1] 4133/16
                                                             4182/12 4183/4 4183/13
COGAN [2] 4106/9 4108/3
                              confronted [1] 4190/12
                                                             4185/11 4192/20 4193/8
collateralized [1] 4155/23
                                                             4195/11 4197/11
                              confused [3] 4120/8 4128/7
cologne [1] 4207/15
                               4162/9
                                                            Corners [1] 4194/24
Colony [13]
            4148/4 4154/1
                              confusing [3] 4148/16
                                                            Corp [1] 4155/19
 4156/4 4157/12 4157/21
                               4177/15 4192/6
                                                            correct [17] 4109/18 4110/23
 4158/18 4159/9 4163/20
                              confusion [9] 4122/5 4125/14
                                                             4111/2 4140/2 4140/12
 4185/14 4185/15 4194/17
                               4127/3 4127/4 4127/15
                                                             4140/22 4143/6 4143/16
 4208/18 4209/8
                               4191/16 4191/16 4192/10
                                                             4153/17 4153/18 4155/11
Colony's [1] 4155/20
                               4194/9
                                                             4164/17 4166/15 4168/22
coming [10]
            4115/20 4117/22
                              connect [1] 4127/9
                                                             4172/12 4181/14 4195/1
 4121/22 4122/13 4130/7
                              connection [3] 4118/2
                                                            couches [1]
                                                                        4150/17
 4134/25 4138/15 4140/14
                               4191/20 4216/11
                                                            council [1]
                                                                        4116/20
 4165/17 4203/19
                              conservative [1]
                                               4188/4
                                                            counsel [12] 4111/5 4119/5
comment [1] 4197/19
                                                             4124/3 4132/23 4146/4 4153/1
                              consideration [1]
                                               4215/11
comments [4] 4132/8 4202/15
                                                             4167/13 4183/12 4195/4
                              considered [2] 4188/4
4206/12 4214/24
                               4193/23
                                                             4203/23 4205/5 4208/24
commerce [3] 4187/2 4187/9
                              consistent [2]
                                                            counter [1] 4216/13
                                              4165/10
4192/3
                                                            counting [1] 4201/13
                               4177/25
commercial [1] 4186/25
                                                            countries [10] 4132/10
                              consortium [1]
                                              4187/19
commitment [2] 4186/17
                                              4179/15
                                                             4132/18 4175/11 4177/12
                              conspiracy [5]
4190/15
                               4180/9 4181/13 4181/19
                                                             4177/17 4177/24 4178/3
committee [2] 4114/23 4209/7
                               4194/2
                                                             4189/18 4190/1 4214/18
common [2] 4135/2 4190/23
                              constantly [2] 4171/6
                                                            country [5] 4149/3 4169/9
communicate [6] 4160/20
                                                             4201/23 4204/2 4214/11
                               4171/12
4171/2 4182/14 4190/16
                                                            counts [1] 4160/6
                              constituencies [3] 4113/6
4192/11 4192/11
                               4182/19 4194/25
                                                            couple [8] 4109/1 4123/10
communicating [2] 4191/19
                                                             4126/1 4143/25 4160/9 4168/9
                              constituency [2]
                                                4113/6
4199/19
                               4208/5
                                                             4168/9 4178/12
communication [9] 4154/16
                              constituents [2]
                                               4134/21
                                                            coupled [1] 4124/15
4192/18 4195/6 4197/23
                               4134/22
                                                            course [10] 4112/19 4113/1
4199/23 4203/24 4205/25
                                                             4127/8 4151/24 4162/17
                              contact [6] 4116/1 4123/7
4209/20 4211/3
                               4134/18 4153/10 4153/21
                                                             4166/16 4171/19 4171/20
communications [2] 4154/12
                               4190/21
                                                             4177/13 4179/13
4190/20
                              contacted [1] 4115/25
                                                            Court's [2] 4214/23 4215/11
communities [1] 4188/17
                                                            courtesy [1] 4122/9
                              contains [2] 4110/4 4166/7
community [4] 4134/24
                              contemporary [1] 4188/14
                                                            Courthouse [1] 4106/3
4165/14 4169/11 4207/20
                              contender [2] 4112/10 4114/4
                                                            courtroom [3] 4108/8 4176/13
companies [5] 4187/19 4193/5
                              contentions [1] 4113/11
                                                             4177/2
4193/20 4194/16 4194/17
                              context [6] 4125/16 4193/20
                                                            cover [7] 4167/24 4171/22
company [4] 4118/25 4155/18
                                                             4172/2 4199/2 4219/3 4219/3
                               4200/9 4200/16 4200/21
4213/21 4213/21
                               4213/24
                                                             4219/4
compare [1] 4130/19
                              contexts [1]
                                           4216/22
                                                            covered [1] 4171/24
compensation [1] 4209/7
                                           4108/16 4138/21
                              continue [3]
                                                            cowboys [1] 4165/14
competing [1] 4190/12
                               4177/3
                                                            cows [1] 4165/13
competition [1] 4189/12
                              continued [7] 4108/22
                                                            CR [1] 4106/2
completely [1] 4220/10
                               4126/24 4149/16 4151/14
                                                            crafted [3] 4160/18 4160/23
completeness [2] 4202/13
                               4183/24 4184/18 4212/11
                                                             4160/24
4202/17
                              Continuing [2] 4150/2 4185/7
                                                            Crafting [1] 4166/19
complicated [4] 4173/19
                              contributing [1] 4185/24
                                                            CRAIG [1] 4106/16
4182/15 4192/1 4195/2
                              control [10] 4122/1 4151/23
                                                            create [4] 4127/13 4128/7
complication [1] 4192/2
                                                             4157/24 4162/9
                               4171/17 4172/15 4188/21
computer [2] 4106/25 4107/24
                               4194/18 4205/14 4209/16
                                                            created [2] 4182/13 4194/22
computer-aided [2] 4106/25
                                                            creating [1] 4128/5
                               4210/20 4212/7
4107/24
                              controlled [1] 4208/7
                                                            creation [1] 4187/17
conceding [1] 4219/7
                              controversy [1] 4112/12
                                                            credibility [2] 4150/11
concern [2] 4201/9 4217/2
                              convene [1] 4215/18
                                                             4171/7
concerned [4] 4120/5 4173/24
                              convention [5] 4111/13
                                                            CRIMINAL [1] 4106/9
4174/6 4210/17
                               4111/24 4114/8 4119/25
                                                            criticized [1] 4189/2
concur [1] 4184/16
                                                            cross [3] 4218/1 4219/9
                               4210/15
conduct [1] 4191/2
                              conversation [14] 4113/15
                                                             4219/19
confer [2] 4127/19 4208/24
                               4114/17 4114/19 4114/20
                                                            cross-examination [1] 4218/1
conference [7] 4184/17
                               4130/18 4130/20 4132/16
                                                            cross-examinations [1]
 4203/11 4203/13 4203/14
                               4136/6 4148/8 4149/1 4151/14
                                                            4219/19
 4211/18 4214/7 4215/2
                                                            crowd [1] 4203/19
                               4151/21 4161/21 4165/16
```

```
4145/13 4110599189/16
С
                                                            4155/17
                               4191/21
                                                           discussions [4] 4155/13
crown [5] 4117/14 4148/11
                                                            4155/15 4156/10 4179/6
                              deserving [1] 4186/24
4156/6 4156/15 4186/19
                              designated [1] 4145/11
                                                           displeased [1] 4206/11
Cruz [1] 4112/9
                              designation [1] 4188/22
                                                           dispute [1] 4133/17
cultural [1] 4194/8
                              desire [1] 4110/14
                                                           disregard [1] 4192/10
culturally [1] 4188/17
                              desk [1] 4138/24
                                                           distinct [2] 4158/14 4158/14
culture [4] 4151/9 4185/25
                              destination [1] 4137/23
                                                           distribute [3]
                                                                           4182/18
4186/13 4189/6
                              determination [1] 4190/3
                                                            4183/4 4194/19
cultures [1] 4192/9
                              developed [1] 4187/20
                                                           distributed [1]
                                                                           4185/13
cumulative [1] 4184/8
                              developers [1] 4148/6
                                                           distributing [1]
                                                                             4191/13
cup [2] 4126/10 4130/7
                              development [1] 4187/10
                                                           distribution [1]
                                                                             4183/13
current [8] 4156/8 4156/12
                              Dhabi [21] 4111/14 4115/7
                                                           DISTRICT [4] 4106/1 4106/1
4163/11 4164/15 4186/14
                               4115/8 4116/6 4116/20
                                                            4106/10 4106/13
4189/3 4190/14 4193/16
                               4117/14 4118/7 4118/13
                                                           dividing [1] 4155/22
curse [1] 4189/10
                               4127/3 4143/11 4155/17
                                                           diving [1]
                                                                       4187/3
customs [2] 4140/17 4140/19
                               4155/18 4157/1 4176/2 4178/7
                                                           DJT [1]
                                                                   4111/16
cut [2] 4218/22 4218/23
                                                                   4199/17
                               4180/16 4186/22 4187/5
                                                           DNA [1]
cycle [2] 4146/6 4147/9
                               4188/11 4203/14 4211/17
                                                           doctor [1] 4144/25
cycling [3] 4145/12 4145/21
                             Dhabi's [1]
                                          4154/10
                                                           document [11] 4124/21 4125/1
4146/24
                                                            4142/2 4142/7 4166/17 4167/2
                             dialogue [7] 4127/13 4127/17
cyclists [1]
            4144/25
                                                            4168/3 4168/20 4168/22
                               4128/7 4151/15 4156/8
                                                            4169/1 4197/3
                               4156/12 4206/14
                                                           Dole [6] 4148/4 4152/11
                             DiCaprio [2] 4136/3 4136/10
date [3]
         4181/7 4185/8
                             dictate [1] 4140/2
                                                            4152/14 4152/18 4152/20
4202/21
                             Diego [1] 4110/6
                                                            4153/8
DAVID [1] 4107/9
                                                           domestic [2] 4113/6 4116/21
                             difference [2] 4190/17
Davidson [1] 4126/14
                              4197/6
                                                           dominance [1] 4189/13
DC [1] 4107/7
                                                           dominated [1] 4188/1
                              different [13] 4118/16
deal [4] 4113/7 4152/16
                               4137/23 4140/1 4162/15
                                                           Donald [25] 4112/15 4113/17
4152/18 4192/5
                               4191/24 4213/20 4213/24
                                                            4113/22 4114/7 4118/2
dealing [2] 4113/7 4147/24
                              4215/22 4215/22 4216/7
                                                            4123/19 4123/20 4124/7
deals [2] 4116/21 4154/7
                              4216/14 4216/23 4217/17
                                                            4125/25 4126/12 4127/4
Dear [1] 4156/3
                             differently [1] 4190/5
                                                            4128/18 4128/20 4129/2
debt [3] 4155/21 4155/22
                             difficult [1] 4178/23
                                                            4129/12 4129/24 4130/18
4192/6
                             digested [1] 4108/5
                                                            4130/21 4130/25 4131/12
decade [1] 4199/10
                                                            4134/1 4134/3 4134/17
                             digging [1] 4135/20
decades [2] 4188/10 4189/5
                             Dina [6] 4203/25 4204/19
                                                            4135/16 4201/9
decided [3]
            4138/23 4139/22
                               4204/20 4205/3 4205/12
                                                           done [2] 4118/16 4136/23
4158/16
                                                           DONNELLY [1] 4106/21
                               4205/16
decides [1] 4133/20
                             Dina's [1] 4205/2
                                                           door [1] 4217/8
deck [3] 4152/11 4152/14
                             dinner [2] 4114/11 4123/9
                                                           dopamine [1] 4159/23
4153/8
                              diplomacy [3] 4117/11
                                                           double [1] 4221/2
deep [1] 4119/21
                              4177/21 4185/25
                                                           down [24] 4108/7 4111/23
defendant [4] 4106/18 4107/3
                             diplomat [1] 4115/7
                                                            4112/22 4112/22 4113/21
4107/6 4218/23
                             diplomatic [3] 4126/25
                                                            4123/17 4128/15 4129/2
Defendants [1] 4106/7
                              4128/3 4188/13
                                                            4133/22 4136/5 4141/3
defense [2] 4177/18 4218/18
                                                            4143/21 4147/10 4149/15
                             direct [7] 4108/16 4108/22
defer [1] 4127/8
                              4117/16 4123/7 4149/17
                                                            4156/19 4156/21 4157/3
degree [2] 4145/10 4189/6
                              4180/19 4185/17
                                                            4192/15 4198/13 4202/7
delegated [1] 4117/8
                                                            4205/19 4213/10 4213/12
                              directed [2] 4200/22 4208/6
democracy [2] 4191/22
                                                            4216/5
                             direction [6] 4116/8 4151/22
4199/17
                              4205/14 4209/16 4210/19
                                                           draft [3] 4165/2 4166/2
democratic [3] 4187/23
                                                            4193/18
                              4212/7
4190/4 4209/24
                              directions [1] 4171/14
                                                           drama [1] 4121/25
demonstrate [1] 4186/23
                                                           dramatic [1] 4190/17
                             directly [2] 4115/17 4123/14
demonstrating [1] 4186/17
                             director [1] 4208/18
                                                           drawn [1] 4188/19
denominator [1] 4190/23
                                                           dressed [1] 4144/9
                             directors [2] 4208/19 4209/8
deputy [5] 4109/14 4110/8
                             disappointed [1] 4139/16
                                                           drinking [1] 4150/22
4178/9 4204/21 4205/5
                             disclosed [1] 4220/4
                                                           drive [1] 4211/21
derivative [1] 4155/24
                             discovery [1] 4187/2
                                                           driving [2] 4140/3 4187/17
descent [4] 4201/7 4205/2
                             discuss [3] 4111/21 4174/18
                                                           dropping [1] 4112/22
4205/11 4207/11
                              4207/24
                                                           Dubai [6] 4118/25 4180/16
describe [3] 4114/17 4164/15
                             discussed [9] 4114/13
                                                            4186/22 4186/22 4187/7
 4182/10
                              4115/10 4116/3 4129/23
                                                            4188/11
described [3] 4139/9 4155/16
                              4130/10 4152/15 4180/2
                                                           due [1] 4188/15
 4163/11
                              4194/17 4198/12
                                                           duly [1] 4108/18
describing [1] 4183/16
                             discussing [1]
                                            4202/4
                                                           dunes [1] 4189/16
desert [6] 4133/13 4133/21
                             discussion [2]
                                            4148/25
```

```
4129/24 4130600 4133/24
Е
                                                            4193/2 4196/1 4198/14
                               4137/25 4186/6 4186/19
                                                            4202/19 4204/18 4206/7
e-mailed [1] 4152/11
                                                            4206/20 4207/5 4207/22
                               4198/8
e-mails [1] 4164/8
                             Emir's [2] 4186/8 4186/10
                                                            4209/5 4210/6 4211/16 4219/8
Eagle [1] 4119/1
                             Emirates [2] 4174/22 4176/1
                                                           evolve [1] 4130/23
earn [1] 4170/2
                             Emirati [1] 4193/4
                                                           ex [2] 4131/9 4137/24
earned [1] 4170/2
                             emotional [1] 4191/19
                                                           ex-King [1] 4131/9
easier [1] 4183/20
                             employed [1] 4211/23
                                                           ex-prime [1] 4137/24
East [39] 4106/14 4112/18
                                                           exact [1] 4175/1
                             employee [1] 4155/8
 4116/4 4147/25 4155/8 4157/9
                             employees [5] 4154/23
                                                           exactly [10] 4110/16 4117/25
 4157/17 4160/19 4160/24
                              4182/16 4182/20 4185/15
                                                            4159/8 4176/22 4179/14
 4171/22 4174/9 4174/10
                              4191/14
                                                            4214/6 4214/7 4214/8 4214/25
 4178/15 4178/21 4178/22
                             empowered [3] 4139/12
                                                            4214/25
 4179/4 4179/5 4179/8 4179/9
                              4139/18 4140/4
                                                           examination [6] 4108/16
 4179/19 4181/20 4182/24
                              empty [2] 4190/10 4190/10
                                                            4108/22 4150/1 4218/1
 4183/14 4185/11 4185/20
                              enclosed [1]
                                                            4218/24 4220/20
                                           4193/18
 4185/22 4189/2 4189/13
                              endorphins [1] 4159/23
                                                           examinations [1]
                                                                            4219/19
 4190/18 4193/11 4193/16
                              endorse [1] 4177/12
                                                           examined [1] 4108/18
 4195/11 4197/11 4199/3
                              energy [2] 4126/21 4126/23
                                                           example [4] 4163/13 4186/15
 4199/9 4199/13 4202/2
                             engage [1] 4173/6
                                                            4187/10 4216/12
 4203/20 4211/19
                                                           excerpt [4] 4172/7 4180/1
                             engineer [1] 4206/13
East-West [1] 4193/16
                             English [2] 4151/2 4190/8
                                                            4202/23 4215/16
EASTERN [5] 4106/1 4106/13
                             enhance [1] 4169/15
                                                           excerpts [1] 4202/12
 4169/9 4187/9 4189/10
                                                           excessive [1] 4220/8
                             enlightening [1] 4127/21
easy [1] 4170/2
                             entered [1] 4179/15
                                                           exchange [3] 4124/5 4131/5
economic [2] 4168/11 4188/9
                             enters [2] 4108/8 4177/2
                                                            4208/14
economy [3] 4113/8 4187/11
                                                           excited [3] 4134/10 4162/11
                             entertainment [1] 4186/1
4187/18
                             enthusiastically [1] 4151/4
                                                            4212/2
educate [3] 4190/16 4194/1
                                                           exclamation [5] 4111/19
                             entire [1] 4216/9
4212/4
                             entirely [1] 4152/24
                                                            4139/14 4157/11 4189/9
educated [2] 4115/1 4129/21
                             entirety [1]
                                                            4197/24
                                           4214/2
education [2] 4116/21
                             entities [3] 4154/10 4154/11
                                                           excuse [1] 4148/2
4194/23
                              4159/3
                                                           executive [1] 4213/20
educational [1] 4116/20
                                                           executives [1] 4152/17
                             entitled [2] 4182/23 4193/11
educator [1] 4114/21
                             envious [1] 4157/24
                                                           exercise [1] 4171/17
effectively [1] 4183/5
                             environmental [2] 4135/17
                                                           exhibit [80]
effectuate [1] 4189/6
                              4136/2
                                                           Exhibit 1102 [1] 4133/3
effort [1] 4132/19
                             equity [6] 4155/20 4157/22
                                                           Exhibit 12 [1] 4124/9
efforts [4] 4128/19 4130/24
                              4158/9 4159/2 4215/4 4215/7
                                                           Exhibit 124 [2] 4198/15
4174/15 4188/13
                             Eric [3]
                                                            4207/22
                                       4172/11 4172/22
Egyptian [1] 4205/2
                              4172/25
                                                           Exhibit 14 [2]
                                                                           4137/6 4137/9
eight [1] 4158/22
                             escorted [1] 4143/24
                                                           Exhibit 17 [2]
                                                                          4199/22
either [4] 4134/10 4162/4
                             especially [7] 4112/14
                                                            4200/1
4171/13 4194/18
                              4158/5 4158/6 4170/2 4170/4
                                                           Exhibit 18 [3] 4203/23
election [4] 4163/7 4164/1
                              4171/6 4203/18
                                                            4204/5 4204/16
4201/9 4201/12
                             ESQ [9] 4106/20 4106/20
                                                           Exhibit 19 [1] 4205/25
elegant [1] 4210/16
                              4106/21 4106/21 4107/5
                                                           Exhibit 21 [1] 4206/15
elements [1] 4208/4
                              4107/8 4107/8 4107/9 4107/9
                                                           Exhibit 211 [1] 4109/19
elevating [1] 4170/6
                             essential [1] 4188/12
                                                           Exhibit 214 [1]
                                                                           4109/4
eliminate [1] 4122/5
                             establish [2] 4113/5 4139/23 Exhibit 216 [3]
                                                                           4111/4
eloquent [1] 4206/14
                                                            4195/5 4195/14
                             established [1] 4220/3
Emaar [1] 4118/25
                             establishing [1] 4154/6
                                                           Exhibit 22 [1] 4206/24
email [30] 4106/23 4107/21
                                                           Exhibit 220 [1] 4116/14
                             estimate [1] 4176/18
 4109/20 4111/10 4116/15
                                                           Exhibit 223 [1]
                             euphemism [1] 4178/22
                                                                           4117/4
 4117/5 4117/10 4119/16
                                                           Exhibit 263 [1]
                             European [2] 4130/1 4135/23
                                                                           4139/1
 4120/12 4120/15 4120/16
                                                           Exhibit 264 [1]
                             events [1] 4201/11
                                                                           4141/7
 4120/20 4120/21 4121/1
                                                           Exhibit 3044 [1] 4123/24
                             evidence [55] 4109/1 4109/5
 4121/4 4121/19 4123/1
                              4109/6 4109/20 4111/9
                                                           Exhibit 3092 [1]
                                                                            4128/23
 4123/13 4124/5 4125/3
                                                           Exhibit 415 [1]
                               4116/14 4117/3 4119/13
                                                                           4141/15
 4125/21 4137/8 4137/8
                              4120/19 4123/24 4128/23
                                                           Exhibit 535 [1]
                                                                            4145/17
 4137/14 4139/3 4139/5
                               4132/6 4133/7 4137/13 4139/1 Exhibit 602 [1]
                                                                            4131/15
 4139/11 4140/12 4140/21
                               4141/6 4141/25 4144/4
                                                           Exhibit 603 [1]
                                                                            4208/13
 4141/5
                               4145/17 4146/17 4149/10
                                                           Exhibit 604 [2]
                                                                            4209/19
emailed [1] 4119/3
                               4149/11 4152/4 4152/19
                                                            4210/2
emailing [1] 4139/25
                               4152/24 4153/3 4153/7 4155/7 Exhibit 605 [2]
                                                                            4211/3
emails [3] 4109/1 4125/5
                               4157/5 4159/18 4162/24
                                                            4211/12
 4140/1
                               4164/5 4166/5 4167/4 4167/12 Exhibit 69 [2] 4120/19
emir [12] 4128/19 4128/25
                               4167/17 4172/3 4173/12
                                                            4120/25
 4129/1 4129/12 4129/18
                               4178/4 4180/6 4181/4 4185/4
                                                           Exhibit 7 [2] 4192/17
```

OddC 1.21 of Odd/1 Divic 17 (iv	Doddinent 000 Thea 00/10/20	or age 120 or 1011 age 10 11.
E	Fax [1] 41 <b>10601</b>	<b>foreign [11]</b> 4114/23 4127/15
Exhibit 7 [1] 4192/23	FCRR [2] 4106/22 4107/20	4134/11 4134/18 4137/18
Exhibit 840 [2] 4202/11	<b>fearful [1]</b> 4144/8	4149/2 4149/5 4151/20 4152/1
4202/14	<b>February [3]</b> 4202/9 4202/22	4170/3 4177/21
Exhibit 994 [1] 4144/4	4211/17	foreigners [1] 4187/11
<b>Exhibits</b> [5] 4146/3 4146/16	February 22 [1] 4202/22	foremost [2] 4118/17 4190/6
4180/5 4181/3 4202/18	feedback [1] 4207/20	form [1] 4155/22
Exhibits 944 [1] 4146/3	feeds [1] 4133/20	formed [1] 4186/18
existing [1] 4118/19	felt [1] 4199/15	former [3] 4134/18 4205/13
exists [1] 4163/8	<b>few [4]</b> 4109/21 4127/19 4145/16 4164/8	4205/16
exits [2] 4176/13 4213/6	field [1] 4113/12	forms [1] 4188/4 forth [1] 4197/19
<b>expand</b> [1] 4193/20	fight [3] 4117/12 4138/22	fortune [1] 4189/11
expectations [2] 4113/9	4191/7	forward [5] 4119/19 4120/13
4190/19		4163/6 4163/24 4185/23
<b>experience</b> [1] 4169/18	fights [1] 4191/8	forward-thinking [1] 4185/23
<b>experiencing</b> [1] 4205/7		forwarded [1] 4152/20
<b>expert</b> [1] 4215/24	<b>figure [3]</b> 4112/23 4163/22	forwarding [6] 4119/16
experts [1] 4171/7	4164/1	4120/12 4120/15 4120/21
explain [15] 4118/12 4121/18 4124/17 4128/4 4132/12	file [2] 4218/5 4218/10	4121/5 4123/2
4133/11 4138/8 4139/15	filled [1] 4150/18	forwards [2] 4164/19 4197/23
4155/14 4158/12 4160/23	Final [1] 4190/10	fossil [1] 4187/20
4191/12 4192/4 4195/21	finally [1] 4112/9	foundation [2] 4113/23
4203/8		4216/18
explained [1] 4130/11	4134/19 4192/7	foundational [1] 4186/8
explaining [2] 4128/13	financial [2] 4189/20 4192/7	
4206/12	fine [3] 4176/24 4184/15	frame [2] 4214/17 4214/25
explains [2] 4122/12 4122/13	4200/4	France [1] 4170/2
<b>explored</b> [1] 4187/19	rinisning [1] 4145/14	Free [1] 4134/7
exponential [1] 4186/5	firm [2] 4209/14 4215/4 firms [3] 4157/22 4158/10	<b>freedom [5]</b> 4187/13 4190/22 4190/25 4191/3 4199/17
<b>exported</b> [1] 4187/20	4159/2	Freihas [1] 4116/5
express [1] 4192/12		friend [6] 4116/5 4118/8
<b>expressed [1]</b> 4201/9	4110/5 4122/11 4125/3	4118/22 4127/3 4136/3
extent [3] 4163/18 4216/23	4125/21 4128/9 4129/5	4209/24
4218/4		friends [2] 4188/12 4201/6
extract [1] 4190/22	4136/17 4143/5 4143/7 4143/9	
extreme [1] 4188/5	4143/15 4146/18 4146/18	4172/3 4174/17 4181/6 4189/1
<b>eye</b> [1] 4169/10		fruitful [1] 4148/2
<b>eyes [1]</b> 4201/13	4183/11 4189/17 4190/6	frustration [1] 4194/8
F	4190/8 4198/22 4200/4 4200/6	
<b>fabric [1]</b> 4177/20	4201/5 4209/3 4210/12	full [1] 4151/3
face [3] 4144/8 4207/10	4213/13 4220/14	<b>full-time [1]</b> 4151/3
4207/14	firsthand [1] 4191/20	<b>fully [1]</b> 4108/5
Facebook [1] 4171/2	five [3] 4150/18 4211/20	<b>fund [6]</b> 4155/16 4155/17
fact [8] 4147/20 4175/21	4218/17	4159/5 4187/4 4187/5 4215/25
4176/5 4184/10 4214/13	fixed [1] 4182/2	funds [6] 4157/24 4158/8
4214/24 4215/1 4216/13	flag [1] 4214/4	4158/13 4158/16 4158/19 4217/6
facts [7] 4141/12 4141/18	flags [1] 4189/15 flip [2] 4143/13 4166/25	421//6   <b>funny [1]</b>   4140/13
4142/12 4142/20 4151/12	fly [1] 4144/15	future [2] 4147/25 4163/7
4208/5 4212/5	focus [3] 4171/7 4173/15	
factual [1] 4179/10	4194/25	G
fair [1] 4169/5	focused [3] 4125/11 4186/3	gain [1] 4128/4
familiar [2] 4112/24 4182/7	4208/22	GALLAGHER [1] 4106/18
family [10] 4118/25 4126/11		gas [1] 4126/24
4172/24 4182/15 4186/4	4125/10	gather [1] 4165/15
4186/18 4186/21 4187/21 4199/16 4201/13	follow [1] 4117/24	GCC [1] 4147/21
fan [2] 4210/11 4210/16	followed [1] 4113/21	<b>gear [1]</b> 4146/25
far [1] 4115/1	following [3] 4152/15	general [2] 4130/10 4147/23
FARR [1] 4113/1	4164/23 4184/1	generally [2] 4116/23
fast [1] 4151/2	follows [2] 4108/19 4156/11	4170/21
fastest [1] 4171/1	food [6] 4138/22 4147/22	generated [1] 4212/3
<b>father [8]</b> 4129/20 4137/25	4147/25 4148/3 4148/5	generation [2] 4126/7 4194/9
4148/15 4148/15 4148/18	4152/16	generosity [1] 4161/11
4151/6 4186/8 4186/16	football [4] 4130/1 4130/1	gentlemen [9] 4108/13
<b>father's</b> [1] 4150/6	4130/2 4165/11	4124/21 4132/3 4155/5 4176/10 4182/1 4197/1
<b>favorable</b> [1] 4184/5	footprint [1] 4188/24 force [1] 4187/17	4176/10 4182/1 4197/1 4200/25 4213/1
	10166 [1] 410//1/	1200/20 1213/1
		•

```
group [2] 4060/42 4180/25
G
                                                           HH [2]
                                                                   4178/8 4207/24
                                                           Hi [2]
                                                                   4163/5 4210/7
                              growers [1] 4148/5
geographic [1] 4137/23
                                                           hide [1] 4174/15
                              growing [1] 4188/17
geopolitical [1] 4189/15
                              grown [1] 4158/16
                                                           high [2] 4127/4 4129/17
George [5] 4114/15 4114/21
                              Grunzweig [1] 4156/4
                                                           highlight [1] 4121/16
4115/5 4115/18 4116/19
                              guarantee [1] 4174/25
                                                           highlighted [1] 4143/14
Georgette [2] 4106/22
                              guess [4] 4125/7 4146/3
                                                           Highness [1] 4159/23
4107/20
                              4200/20 4213/17
                                                           himself [1] 4122/4
Georgetteb25 [2] 4106/23
                              guidance [1] 4186/6
                                                           HIRAL [1] 4106/16
4107/21
                              Gulf [5] 4110/5 4143/5
                                                           historical [1] 4193/20
Germain [2] 4169/18 4169/21
                              4143/7 4143/10 4143/15
                                                           historically [1] 4187/24
German [1] 4130/3
                              guy [12] 4117/22 4147/8
                                                           history [7] 4151/5 4151/11
Ghafli [2] 4198/3 4198/8
                               4149/12 4149/12 4152/16
                                                            4186/17 4188/23 4191/5
Gibbs [3] 4109/7 4109/8
                               4152/18 4164/25 4165/19
                                                            4191/7 4191/9
4109/12
                               4165/22 4165/23 4207/13
                                                           hit [5]
                                                                    4157/9 4157/17
gigantic [1] 4134/6
                                                            4178/11 4178/17 4179/3
                               4217/18
girl [1] 4201/7
                              guys [3]
                                       4116/12 4120/9
                                                           hold [2]
                                                                     4115/19 4131/22
given [3]
         4155/4 4155/6
                               4155/25
                                                           home [4]
                                                                     4111/16 4113/6
4214/24
                                                            4165/17 4211/21
glad [2] 4108/15 4184/16
                                                           homelessness [1]
                                                                             4113/8
glance [1] 4201/8
                                                           honest [1] 4201/11
                             Hajeri [4]
                                         4192/19 4193/3
global [8] 4112/11 4120/1
                              4193/4 4194/3
                                                           honor [49] 4109/6 4111/6
 4120/5 4131/10 4186/12
                                                            4119/6 4124/10 4124/24
                             half [6] 4110/2 4145/14
4187/6 4187/19 4188/15
                              4147/12 4164/6 4174/10
                                                            4125/6 4125/8 4133/1 4153/5
gmail.com [2] 4106/23
                               4187/22
                                                            4154/20 4168/24 4170/5
4107/21
                              halfway [1] 4145/15
                                                            4172/16 4173/13 4176/8
goal [1] 4123/11
                              Hamad [5] 4137/23 4137/25
                                                            4177/5 4179/22 4180/2
God [1] 4132/10
                                                            4180/22 4181/1 4183/9 4185/5
                              4138/1 4186/9 4186/10
gorgeous [1] 4147/18
                                                            4192/22 4195/13 4195/20
                              hand [1] 4128/6
gossip [1] 4116/11
                             handing [1] 4221/4
                                                            4200/8 4200/23 4202/10
governance [1] 4188/15
                             handle [3] 4139/12 4140/5
                                                            4204/4 4204/15 4209/2 4210/8
governed [1] 4188/18
                              4140/6
                                                            4211/1 4212/9 4214/5 4215/10
government [45] 4106/13
                             handling [1] 4198/25
                                                            4215/20 4216/6 4216/15
4109/3 4109/19 4111/4 4111/4
                             hands [1] 4188/15
                                                            4217/19 4218/6 4218/16
4111/9 4116/14 4117/4
                             handsome [1] 4207/17
                                                            4219/6 4219/15 4220/6
4120/18 4120/25 4139/1
                             happy [5] 4119/2 4124/17
                                                            4220/10 4220/16 4220/23
 4140/8 4141/6 4141/15
                              4126/10 4127/9 4210/8
                                                            4221/3
 4141/25 4145/17 4146/4
                                                           honorable [3] 4106/9 4108/2
                              hard [1]
                                       4121/23
 4152/4 4152/19 4152/25
                              Hariri [4]
                                         4204/23 4204/25
                                                            4189/21
 4153/7 4157/6 4159/18
                               4205/1 4205/6
                                                            hope [7] 4107/4 4125/22
 4162/16 4162/24 4164/5
                              HARRIS [1] 4106/15
                                                            4161/10 4191/4 4191/10
 4166/5 4167/3 4167/12
                              Haykel [2] 4126/15 4142/13
                                                            4204/22 4204/24
 4167/17 4167/19 4170/10
                             Haykel's [1] 4141/18
                                                            hoped [1] 4130/22
 4172/3 4173/4 4178/5 4183/6
                             HBJ [1] 4137/23
                                                           hopefully [1] 4197/20
 4196/1 4198/15 4202/12
                             head [2] 4116/4 4209/7
                                                           hoping [1] 4130/20
 4207/22 4211/23 4214/9
                             headed [1] 4147/14
                                                           horribles [1] 4135/21
4219/7 4220/1 4222/4
                              heading [3] 4154/12 4194/21
                                                           horse [1] 4207/13
governor [1] 4148/19
                              4211/17
                                                           horses [1] 4165/11
graced [1] 4186/3
                              heads [1] 4171/4
                                                           hospitality [1] 4159/25
gracious [1] 4159/24
                              headway [1] 4156/2
                                                           hosts [2] 4186/1 4187/11
          4219/20 4219/21
grand [4]
                             healthcare [1] 4113/8
                                                           hot [1]
                                                                    4138/18
4220/3 4220/18
                                                           hotel [6] 4131/12 4143/25
                             heard [9] 4116/9 4151/12
great [20] 4115/14 4118/16
                               4151/12 4173/4 4179/12
                                                            4144/20 4145/3 4150/5
 4120/7 4126/18 4127/1
                               4180/20 4183/6 4203/7
                                                            4151/18
 4127/21 4129/22 4130/12
                               4207/18
                                                           hour [5] 4133/19 4139/22
 4139/4 4162/6 4181/8 4186/12
                             hearsay [10] 4124/11 4130/15
                                                            4145/14 4147/12 4176/11
 4191/1 4193/24 4194/5 4194/7
                              4131/16 4154/22 4184/9
                                                           hours [3] 4143/25 4160/9
 4204/24 4209/9 4210/8
                               4195/15 4195/23 4200/2
                                                            4173/3
 4211/20
                                                            Houthis [1]
                               4208/21 4213/25
                                                                        4176/3
Greece [4] 4160/7 4160/13
                              heart [1]
                                        4187/2
                                                           HUDGENS [1] 4107/9
4161/5 4161/7
                                                           huge [2] 4130/8 4158/6
                              heavy [1]
                                        4138/18
greed [1] 4189/12
                              hedge [1]
                                        4215/25
                                                           human [2] 4177/19 4189/3
Greetings [1] 4127/2
                              Heeren [3] 4219/19 4220/7
                                                           humans [1] 4191/3
grenade [1] 4128/6
                              4221/1
                                                            humble [1]
                                                                       4191/11
grid [1] 4140/10
                              held [1] 4129/17
                                                            hundreds [1] 4188/21
GRIMES [5] 4106/6 4107/6
                                                                         4127/12
                              helpful [5] 4108/6 4189/7
                                                           hyperbole [1]
4141/12 4164/9 4167/18
                              4193/25 4215/12 4219/6
grocery [1] 4184/10
                              HEREEN [1] 4106/16
ground [2] 4128/4 4135/2
                                                           I' [1]
                             heritage [1] 4205/11
                                                                   4178/4
```

```
4153/10 4140603155/6
Ι
                                                             4156/4 4157/1 4158/14
                               4156/22 4156/25 4160/3
                                                             4164/14 4164/22 4165/5
idea [5] 4122/7 4122/14
                               4193/15 4197/20
                                                             4165/18 4169/24 4169/24
4138/21 4158/2 4162/8
                                                             4187/6 4209/13 4215/25
                              informed [2] 4155/1 4196/22
ideal [1] 4217/9
                              informing [2] 4154/20
                                                             4217/2 4217/5 4217/18
identification [14] 4119/5
                               4196/21
                                                            investments [6] 4148/2
 4124/3 4131/4 4132/22 4137/6
                              informs [3] 4156/14 4196/2
                                                             4163/10 4169/10 4194/18
 4137/7 4154/15 4167/11
                               4196/13
                                                             4194/19 4213/22
 4192/17 4195/4 4199/22
                              innate [1] 4191/6
                                                            investor [3] 4116/4 4131/11
 4203/22 4206/24 4208/13
                              input [2] 4208/3 4210/16
                                                             4159/5
identifies [1] 4165/19
                              inquire [1] 4196/15
                                                            investors [6] 4154/7 4171/10
identify [2] 4190/12 4207/10
                              insights [1]
                                           4209/9
                                                             4182/15 4182/21 4191/14
Ignacio [1]
            4207/7
                              inspirational [1] 4132/11
                                                             4192/5
ignored [1]
            4164/8
                                           4131/12 4140/14
                              instance [3]
                                                           invitation [5] 4136/23
illegal [3]
            4134/15 4136/10
                               4158/18
                                                             4160/13 4161/6 4161/13
 4214/10
                              institutions [1] 4156/9
                                                             4161/17
illusion [1] 4189/14
                              instruction [1]
                                              4184/9
                                                            invited [2]
                                                                       4136/19 4137/4
illusory [2] 4188/19 4189/18
                              integration [1]
                                              4166/20
                                                            involved [3] 4116/12 4121/24
illustrate [2] 4201/1 4201/2
                              intelligent [2]
                                              4186/11
                                                             4135/4
illustrative [2] 4198/24
                               4207/12
                                                            involvement [1] 4110/7
4216/12
                              intend [1]
                                                            Iran [2] 4176/3 4202/2
                                         4220/24
image [2] 4169/10 4169/11
                              intending [3] 4177/12
                                                            Iranian [1] 4201/7
imagine [2] 4129/25 4219/10
                               4209/15 4210/19
                                                            irrelevant [1] 4124/16
           4186/24
immense [1]
                                                            Islam [4] 4127/16 4188/4
                              intense [1] 4190/15
immigrant's [1] 4191/11
                                                            4188/5 4190/1
                              interaction [1] 4194/7
immigration [3]
                 4134/8
                                                            Israel [9] 4119/25 4121/23
                              interest [2] 4138/4 4158/9
4140/10 4140/19
                              interested [6] 4115/15
                                                             4174/22 4175/2 4175/10
implemented [1] 4187/16
                               4119/25 4119/25 4126/11
                                                             4175/20 4175/23 4177/9
implementing [1] 4188/13
                               4148/7 4151/25
                                                             4191/24
importance [4] 4110/13
                                                            issues [13] 4116/22 4133/20
                              interesting [5] 4160/17
4118/1 4118/2 4118/5
                               4179/11 4182/14 4182/17
                                                             4134/6 4135/23 4138/9 4138/9
important [10] 4118/3 4118/4
                               4208/5
                                                             4177/19 4178/15 4190/11
4134/17 4148/1 4154/9 4158/4
                              interests [1] 4190/13
                                                             4191/17 4205/6 4210/17
4177/10 4177/22 4179/6
                              intermediaries [1] 4117/2
                                                             4219/25
4218/21
                                                                       4118/7 4159/4
                              intermediary [1] 4117/17
                                                            itself [2]
importantly [1] 4161/9
                              international [3] 4113/12
imposed [1] 4189/23
                                                            J
                               4122/1 4186/24
imposing [1] 4190/17
                              intersection [1] 4197/18
                                                            jackpot [3]
                                                                         4157/9 4157/17
impossibility [1] 4140/17
                              intervention [1] 4135/11
                                                             4157/20
impressively [1] 4185/25
                                                            JACKSON [3]
                                                                         4106/20 4220/19
                              interview [28] 4172/7
improper [1] 4138/12
                               4172/20 4172/23 4173/2
                                                             4220/25
improving [1] 4169/10
                               4173/8 4173/14 4174/8
                                                            Jamal [1] 4217/16
imprudent [1]
              4128/14
                               4175/14 4177/7 4178/2
                                                            JAMES [1] 4107/5
inability [1] 4192/11
                               4178/18 4179/24 4180/1
                                                            Jared [28] 4110/25 4114/8
inclined [1] 4216/23
                               4180/7 4180/14 4180/23
                                                             4114/11 4114/22 4115/4
includes [1] 4202/17
                               4181/9 4198/16 4198/22
                                                             4115/9 4115/13 4115/17
including [5] 4114/25
                               4201/18 4202/8 4203/8 4203/8
                                                             4116/15 4119/23 4120/11
4125/13 4156/22 4186/21
                                                             4120/13 4120/21 4121/5
                               4205/20 4206/21 4207/6
4213/21
                               4207/16 4213/19
                                                             4121/20 4121/22 4121/25
increase [1] 4168/18
                              interviewer [3] 4172/11
                                                             4122/5 4122/12 4123/2 4123/3
incubation [1] 4187/16
                               4173/16 4174/8
                                                             4123/7 4126/18 4134/3
independence [3] 4126/22
                                                             4134/11 4134/14 4211/21
                              interviewers [1] 4170/12
4126/23 4187/15
                                                             4212/4
                              interviews [12] 4170/21
independent [1] 4186/21
                                                            Jared's [1] 4175/3
                               4171/21 4171/22 4172/6
indicates [1] 4110/8
                               4177/8 4179/13 4181/18
                                                            jargon [1] 4192/5
indictment [1] 4184/5
                               4183/6 4199/1 4201/19
                                                            Jassim [3] 4130/14 4137/24
individuals [3] 4115/24
                                                             4186/10
                               4208/10 4211/19
4133/15 4171/9
                                                            JERSEYS [1]
                              introduce [4] 4123/20
                                                                        4169/21
induce [1] 4127/17
                               4125/24 4129/12 4134/3
                                                            Jessica [1]
                                                                        4109/7
industry [6] 4214/6 4214/16
                              introduced [7] 4126/12
                                                            Jewish [1] 4190/7
4214/20 4214/21 4215/1
                               4134/11 4135/9 4167/4
                                                            Jews [1] 4191/24
 4216/11
                               4167/11 4167/20 4196/1
                                                            JG [1] 4156/3
Inferring [1]
              4128/13
                                                            job [4] 4110/18 4138/21
                              introducing [1] 4133/25
Inflation [1]
              4113/8
                                                             4191/15 4204/23
                              introduction [1] 4119/2
              4114/7 4117/15
influence [4]
                              introductions [1]
                                               4151/1
                                                            JOHANNA [1]
                                                                        4107/9
 4123/11 4168/18
                              invest [1] 4159/13
                                                            John [2]
                                                                     4156/4 4156/9
inform [2] 4123/3 4154/12
                                               4194/23
                                                                     4137/4 4139/8
                              investigation [1]
                                                            join [3]
information [12] 4109/11
                                                             4147/21
                              investing [1]
                                            4168/18
 4110/4 4116/9 4142/15
                              investment [16] 4155/18
                                                            joined [2] 4119/23 4180/9
```

```
largest [3] 10.604/11 4148/5
J
                                                            4219/9
                               4158/9
                                                            lit [1] 4162/10
JUDGE [2] 4106/10 4216/19
                                        4135/9 4135/10
                                                            livelihood [1] 4191/4
                              Latin [2]
judgment [1] 4127/8
                              launch [1] 4186/14
                                                            LLP [3] 4106/18 4107/3
July [3] 4166/7 4181/10
                              Launny [2] 4208/15 4209/7
                                                            4107/6
4203/25
                              Lauren [1] 4207/10
                                                            loan [1] 4155/23
June [8] 4111/21 4112/3
                              lawyer [1]
                                         4151/7
                                                            long-standing [1]
                                                                              4188/8
 4112/5 4113/17 4121/14
                              lay [1] 4216/17
                                                            longest [1]
                                                                        4126/15
 4122/8 4122/19 4122/21
                              lead [1] 4183/18
                                                            longevity [1] 4187/24
Jurassic [1] 4171/3
                              leader [6] 4112/13 4129/18
                                                            looked [4] 4125/2 4125/3
jurors [1] 4181/7
                               4137/18 4186/12 4188/24
                                                             4172/9 4220/1
jury [25] 4106/10 4108/4
                               4207/19
                                                            looks [2] 4108/6 4165/19
 4108/8 4108/14 4108/21
                              leaders [11] 4113/1 4113/14
                                                            Los [2] 4107/4 4209/25
 4125/18 4131/11 4149/9
                               4126/8 4134/1 4135/5 4135/16
                                                           losing [1] 4176/2
 4171/5 4172/7 4173/14
                               4136/5 4174/16 4214/17
                                                            lost [1]
                                                                     4142/19
 4176/13 4177/1 4177/2
                               4215/5 4215/7
                                                            love [4] 4141/12 4151/13
 4179/12 4182/10 4185/20
                              leadership [6]
                                            4126/8
                                                             4160/8 4197/24
 4207/11 4213/6 4215/4 4217/4
                               4132/11 4186/4 4186/8 4187/8 loved [1] 4129/21
 4219/20 4219/21 4220/3
                               4187/15
                                                            Low [1]
                                                                    4116/21
 4220/18
                                                           Lowe [1] 4206/21
                              leading [5] 4168/24 4168/25
Justin [2] 4152/11 4152/16
                               4172/13 4183/7 4183/7
                                                           LOWELL [1] 4107/8
                              leanings [1]
                                           4115/2
                                                            loyalty [1] 4188/18
K
                                       4214/19
                              leap [1]
                                                            lucky [1] 4171/8
keep [4]
         4113/10 4151/3
                                                                     4134/12
                              learned [1] 4156/3
                                                            Luis [1]
 4177/20 4201/13
                              learning [1] 4189/1
                                                            Lutheran [1] 4190/7
Khalifa [23] 4117/7 4117/23
                              least [3] 4108/7 4150/14
 4118/8 4121/6 4121/21
                                                            М
                              4174/5
 4122/12 4122/14 4122/17
                              leaving [1] 4122/22
                                                            Macri [1] 4135/13
 4138/1 4138/2 4138/2 4163/5
                              Lebanese [5] 4114/21 4115/6
                                                           magnificent [1] 4150/8
 4164/24 4165/19 4165/23
                              4116/11 4191/11 4199/17
                                                            mail [28] 4152/5 4152/5
 4186/9 4186/19 4197/4
                              Lebanon [9] 4202/5 4204/2
                                                             4153/14 4153/17 4153/22
 4197/25 4198/3 4198/5 4198/7
                               4204/24 4205/1 4205/6 4205/8
                                                             4157/7 4159/19 4159/20
4198/8
                               4205/9 4205/13 4205/17
                                                             4162/24 4164/3 4164/8
Khashoggi [1] 4217/16
                              Lebanon's [1] 4205/14
                                                             4164/19 4166/3 4166/6
kindly [1] 4156/15
                              led [2] 4186/19 4189/11
                                                             4166/10 4166/13 4167/6
kindness [1] 4161/12
                                                             4167/18 4167/19 4167/22
                              left [9] 4108/24 4110/20
kinds [2] 4155/22 4158/3
                                                             4185/6 4185/8 4194/22
                               4112/8 4138/24 4139/23
king [6] 4127/11 4131/9
                               4144/8 4144/20 4145/20
                                                             4195/16 4197/1 4197/3
4148/15 4148/15 4148/18
                               4149/12
                                                             4198/15 4201/8
4150/8
                              legible [1] 4125/8
                                                            mailed [1] 4152/11
Kingdom [1] 4188/1
                              length [2] 4132/9 4172/20
                                                           mails [1] 4164/8
kings [1] 4122/9
                              lengthy [1] 4184/6
                                                            main [2] 4119/24 4190/11
knowledge [3] 4155/3 4162/8
                              Leo [2] 4136/3 4136/4
                                                            maintain [1] 4163/7
4168/12
                              Leonardo [1] 4136/10
                                                            majlis [5]
                                                                       4117/11 4117/12
known [3] 4110/6 4112/18
                              less [1] 4122/22
                                                            4117/12 4133/13 4150/16
4135/14
                              Lessons [1] 4188/23
                                                            majlises [3] 4150/16 4150/18
knows [2] 4127/15 4132/10
                                                            4150/20
                              letter [1] 4217/25
KOLANSKY [1] 4107/9
                                                            major [2] 4112/11 4186/1
                              letting [2] 4111/23 4205/10
Korea [1] 4120/4
                              Levant [1] 4199/8
                                                            Maktoum [1] 4186/21
Kuczynski [1] 4135/8
                              level [6] 4116/19 4116/21
                                                           Malik [7] 4139/6 4152/21
Kushner [13] 4110/25 4114/8
                               4117/22 4147/23 4170/6
                                                            4166/21 4167/5 4167/19
 4114/11 4115/10 4116/15
                                                             4195/7 4196/14
                               4193/14
 4120/13 4120/21 4121/5
                                                            Malik's [1] 4195/25
                              levels [1] 4190/16
 4122/12 4123/2 4123/7 4134/4
                                                           man [14] 4111/20 4112/2
                              Lewandowski [1] 4138/23
 4134/14
                              life [6] 4129/20 4149/2
                                                             4114/14 4114/14 4114/20
Kuwait [2]
            4158/24 4159/1
                                                             4115/5 4130/3 4130/24
                              4151/7 4151/8 4191/4 4191/16
                                                             4192/19 4198/2 4207/6
                              light [1] 4182/16
                                                             4207/12 4208/14 4210/16
                              Likewise [1] 4190/7
labeled [3]
            4109/22 4142/2
                                                            Manafort [15] 4110/25
                              limitation [2] 4125/18
 4142/2
                               4131/20
                                                             4111/11 4114/25 4116/2
lack [1] 4219/7
                              line [5] 4117/16 4121/9
                                                             4119/17 4119/19 4120/13
ladies [9] 4108/13 4124/20
                               4121/11 4130/15 4174/12
                                                             4120/22 4137/4 4137/15
 4132/3 4155/5 4176/10 4182/1
                              lines [7] 4173/15 4174/7
                                                             4137/19 4138/3 4138/15
 4197/1 4200/25 4213/1
                                                             4160/16 4161/5
                               4174/21 4175/25 4188/19
Lake [2] 4158/20 4158/20
                               4189/15 4210/22
                                                            management [1] 4187/7
lands [1]
          4189/10
                              link [3]
                                       4205/21 4206/8
                                                            manager [7] 4111/13 4111/24
             4123/1 4189/19
language [2]
                               4207/23
                                                             4114/8 4138/7 4138/12 4159/4
          4115/7
large [1]
                                                             4162/5
                              links [1] 4199/1
larger [1] 4217/4
                                                           manipulate [1] 4173/5
                              list [3] 4127/20 4213/18
```

```
4128/20 41306054135/17
М
                                                             4140/23 4154/23 4196/1
                               4138/3 4185/11 4205/5
                                                             4196/3 4196/6 4196/8 4200/13
manner [1] 4139/24
                                                            minds [2] 4127/19 4189/14
                               4205/12 4205/16
marked [19] 4111/4 4119/4
                                                            mine [1] 4130/14
                             meeting [66]
 4124/2 4131/4 4132/22 4137/6
                              meetings [4] 4118/23 4120/7
                                                            mini [2] 4217/1 4217/9
 4154/15 4167/11 4192/16
                               4135/4 4162/13
                                                            minister [10] 4134/11
 4195/3 4199/21 4203/22
                                                             4134/12 4134/14 4134/19
                              meets [5] 4182/24 4183/14
 4205/24 4206/15 4206/23
                               4193/11 4195/11 4197/11
                                                             4134/19 4137/24 4186/9
 4208/12 4209/18 4211/2
                              MEHTA [1] 4106/16
                                                             4205/1 4205/13 4205/17
 4215/19
                              Melania [1] 4130/4
                                                            minor [1] 4162/11
market [1] 4159/10
                              member [1] 4209/8
                                                            minority [2] 4159/3 4194/18
marketed [1] 4154/9
                              members [1] 4208/18
                                                            minute [1] 4167/19
marketplace [1] 4170/7
                              memo [1] 4185/14
                                                            minutes [6] 4130/5 4150/22
marshal [1] 4110/7
                              memorandum [1]
                                                             4151/11 4172/21 4172/25
                                             4182/12
mask [1] 4112/22
                              men [2] 4110/17 4191/6
                                                             4176/11
massive [1] 4187/1
                              mention [2] 4148/8 4165/18
                                                            miscommunicated [1] 4190/20
material [3] 4219/20 4219/21
                              mentioned [9] 4110/21
                                                           misconstrued [1] 4193/24
 4220/3
                               4110/22 4110/25 4115/21
                                                            misleading [1] 4215/7
materials [2] 4142/5 4143/17
                               4118/22 4137/17 4148/3
                                                            missed [2]
                                                                       4146/9 4208/4
matter [6] 4147/20 4155/5
                               4164/22 4165/5
                                                            misspelled [1] 4165/20
 4210/13 4210/14 4217/7
                              mentions [1] 4201/18
                                                           mistrust [1] 4127/16
 4221/8
                              merged [1] 4143/10
                                                           misunderstandings [1]
MATTHEW [16] 4106/6 4106/17
                              merit [1] 4219/7
                                                            4190/19
 4109/21 4142/1 4142/5
                              message [1] 4132/12
                                                           mixed [1] 4110/7
 4143/17 4144/15 4157/14
                              messages [3] 4117/8 4140/1
                                                           moderate [4] 4134/21 4134/21
 4164/9 4164/11 4164/19
                                                             4188/7 4206/13
                              4218/17
 4165/6 4166/6 4166/13 4167/7
                              messaging [1] 4139/25
                                                            modern [3] 4186/14 4187/10
 4167/18
                             met [13] 4112/25 4130/14
                                                             4187/10
Matthew's [1] 4166/3
                               4136/12 4136/17 4145/24
                                                            modicum [1] 4199/16
May 1st [2] 4109/17 4111/11
                               4148/14 4150/3 4153/15
                                                           Mohamed [3] 4186/20 4206/1
mayor [2] 4133/15 4209/25
                               4153/19 4159/15 4180/10
                                                             4206/8
MBS [3] 4148/14 4157/18
                               4180/15 4198/2
                                                            Mohammed [18] 4111/18
4158/6
                              method [1] 4139/23
                                                             4117/13 4118/22 4118/24
MBS's [1] 4148/20
                              Methodists [1] 4190/8
                                                             4119/1 4130/14 4142/22
MBZ [6] 4115/8 4116/21
                              Mexican [1] 4134/24
                                                             4148/9 4148/17 4149/7
4121/6 4121/22 4122/11
                              Mexicans [2] 4134/9 4134/25
                                                             4149/12 4150/3 4151/21
 4122/13
                             Mexico [7] 4120/3 4134/5
                                                             4156/7 4156/22 4187/8 4214/9
MBZ's [1] 4126/8
                               4134/6 4134/9 4134/14
                                                             4214/13
McCleod [5] 4185/6 4192/15
                               4134/15 4134/19
                                                            mojo [1] 4113/12
 4197/22 4202/21 4204/11
                             MICHAEL [1] 4106/20
                                                            mom's [1] 4122/8
McKENZIE [1] 4106/17
                              microphone [2] 4181/23
                                                            moment [7] 4111/6 4124/10
McLeod [20] 4109/3 4119/15
                               4181/23
                                                             4192/20 4193/9 4196/16
 4121/17 4123/17 4124/14
                              mid [2] 4116/19 4117/22
                                                             4204/12 4208/24
 4125/4 4125/19 4128/15
                              middle [37] 4112/18 4116/4
                                                            moms [1]
                                                                     4165/16
 4133/23 4139/2 4142/4
                               4128/6 4145/21 4147/25
                                                            monarchs [1] 4186/7
 4142/19 4143/21 4146/6
                               4148/4 4151/7 4155/8 4157/9
                                                            monarchy [1] 4187/23
 4147/10 4152/7 4153/1 4157/3
                               4157/17 4160/19 4160/24
                                                            Monday [1] 4185/9
 4181/6 4181/15
                               4169/9 4171/22 4174/9
                                                            money [2] 4133/18 4169/23
mean [18] 4128/9 4128/11
                               4174/10 4178/15 4178/21
                                                            moniker [1] 4191/3
 4134/5 4139/20 4140/5
                               4178/22 4179/4 4179/5 4179/8
                                                           month [1] 4182/18
 4140/11 4140/11 4157/16
                                                            months [7] 4180/8 4180/9
                               4179/9 4179/19 4181/20
 4169/14 4176/20 4177/15
                                                            4180/15 4183/2 4194/2 4195/7
                               4185/20 4185/22 4187/9
 4178/19 4179/2 4199/5
                               4189/2 4189/10 4189/13
                                                             4198/2
 4210/10 4214/21 4218/16
                               4192/1 4199/3 4199/8 4199/13 morning [8] 4108/6 4213/2
 4218/20
                               4202/2 4211/19
                                                            4213/5 4213/8 4215/18
meaning [4] 4160/24 4165/6
                              Middle East [1] 4199/3
                                                             4217/23 4219/14 4221/7
 4169/16 4173/20
                              might [8] 4111/21 4115/2
                                                            Moroccan [2] 4140/16 4144/14
means [7] 4148/17 4148/18
                               4148/7 4213/4 4214/3 4215/7
                                                           Morocco [15]
                                                                         4136/16 4137/1
 4158/12 4172/19 4176/23
                               4216/1 4217/16
                                                             4138/19 4143/23 4143/23
 4185/14 4199/7
                              miles [3] 4145/9 4145/10
                                                             4144/15 4147/19 4147/19
meant [4] 4132/12 4140/24
                               4202/3
                                                             4147/21 4147/22 4147/23
 4199/12 4210/11
                                                             4149/7 4149/13 4150/7 4154/2
                              milestone [1] 4129/22
mechanical [2] 4106/24
                              Milken [2] 4203/13 4211/18
                                                            most [21] 4110/17 4122/8
 4107/24
                              milling [1] 4146/23
                                                             4124/25 4131/10 4131/13
mechanics [1] 4189/23
                              million [1]
                                          4188/2
                                                             4132/9 4146/24 4148/5 4161/9
media [3] 4170/9 4170/16
                              millions [1] 4187/11
                                                             4171/1 4173/17 4173/19
 4171/4
                              mind [15] 4118/17 4124/19
                                                             4173/24 4186/7 4186/25
meet [13] 4112/4 4112/13
                               4124/23 4125/16 4128/4
                                                             4187/5 4188/3 4188/5 4193/15
 4113/14 4122/19 4128/18
                               4131/18 4131/24 4132/15
                                                             4218/20 4218/20
```

```
mutually [1]06068/10
М
                                                           notable [1] 4131/10
                              MYERS [1]
                                        4107/3
                                                            note [4] 4156/15 4160/2
mother [1] 4186/10
                                                             4181/7 4197/19
motto [1] 4122/8
                                                            notes [2] 4160/1 4220/2
mountain [2] 4144/14 4209/14
                              Nacho [1] 4207/8
                                                            nothing [5] 4123/4 4127/21
mountains [2] 4147/18
                              Nader [10] 4114/15 4115/5
                                                            4132/20 4140/13 4194/20
4165/13
                               4115/9 4115/11 4115/18
                                                            noticed [1] 4220/7
move [1] 4129/13
                                                            notion [1] 4189/18
                               4116/19 4117/14 4117/21
movies [1] 4140/16
                               4117/21 4120/8
                                                            November [5] 4183/1 4185/9
moving [1] 4163/6
                              NAFTA [1] 4134/7
                                                             4193/7 4195/10 4197/12
Moza [1] 4186/11
                              Nahyan [1] 4186/18
                                                            November 23 [1]
                                                                            4193/7
Mr. Al Malik's [1] 4195/25
                              name [3]
                                       4121/8 4167/25
                                                            November of [1]
                                                                            4185/9
Mr. Barrack [27] 4108/9
                               4217/16
                                                            number [9] 4119/8 4142/2
 4108/24 4109/7 4125/21
                              named [15] 4114/14 4114/15
                                                             4171/20 4172/17 4173/21
 4130/17 4132/7 4139/24
                               4114/20 4115/5 4116/5
                                                             4177/7 4213/22 4219/24
 4142/6 4191/12 4196/16
                               4118/22 4130/25 4172/11
                                                             4219/25
 4196/21 4197/7 4200/9 4201/2
                               4192/19 4198/2 4199/24
                                                            NW [1]
                                                                   4107/7
 4203/7 4205/8 4214/10
                               4203/24 4207/6 4208/15
 4214/15 4214/21 4215/3
                                                            0
                               4211/4
 4216/4 4216/5 4216/17
                              names [1] 4148/16
                                                            o'clock [1]
                                                                        4150/9
 4217/10 4217/17 4218/1
                              narrowing [1] 4108/7
                                                            O'MELVENY [1] 4107/3
 4218/4
                             Nasser [1] 4186/11
                                                            Obama [1] 4113/13
Mr. Barrack's [9] 4124/19
                             nation [1] 4196/24
                                                            object [2] 4124/25 4214/2
 4124/23 4125/15 4131/18
                             national [6] 4109/14 4110/8
                                                            objecting [3] 4195/22
 4196/2 4196/14 4196/23
                              4143/1 4143/10 4170/3
                                                            4195/23 4196/11
 4200/12 4214/6
                                                            objection [50] 4111/6 4111/7
                               4204/21
Mr. Caruso [3] 4210/7
                              NATO [1]
                                                             4113/23 4119/10 4119/11
                                       4135/23
4210/13 4210/18
                              nature [1] 4203/11
                                                             4124/11 4124/20 4125/11
Mr. Davidson [1] 4126/14
                                                             4125/17 4130/15 4131/16
                              Naz [4] 4199/24 4201/5
Mr. Grimes [1] 4141/12
                              4201/6 4201/23
                                                             4131/21 4131/25 4133/4
Mr. Heeren [3]
               4219/19
                              near [1] 4150/7
                                                             4133/5 4137/10 4137/11
4220/7 4221/1
                              necessary [1] 4169/15
                                                             4141/1 4146/13 4146/14
Mr. Jackson [2] 4220/19
                              need [15] 4132/10 4133/18
                                                             4153/2 4154/22 4167/14
4220/25
                               4133/18 4133/18 4152/6
                                                             4167/15 4168/24 4172/13
Mr. Kushner [1] 4115/10
                               4177/25 4183/21 4193/13
                                                             4175/5 4178/25 4181/2 4183/7
Mr. Manafort [3] 4119/19
                                                             4183/22 4192/24 4192/25
                               4193/25 4194/12 4194/12
4120/13 4137/19
                               4194/13 4200/6 4210/7
                                                             4195/15 4200/2 4202/17
Mr. McCleod [5] 4185/6
                               4217/13
                                                             4206/4 4206/5 4206/17
 4192/15 4197/22 4202/21
                              needed [1] 4162/10
                                                             4206/18 4206/25 4207/2
 4204/11
                              needs [2] 4127/18 4219/2
                                                             4207/3 4207/18 4208/21
Mr. McLeod [15] 4109/3
                              negative [1] 4116/10
                                                             4208/22 4210/3 4210/4
 4119/15 4121/17 4123/17
                              Neighboring [1] 4187/7
                                                             4211/13 4217/7
 4124/14 4125/4 4125/19
                              Nest [1] 4119/1
                                                            objections [1] 4213/19
 4128/15 4133/23 4139/2
                              never [7] 4113/21 4119/22
                                                            obligation [1] 4155/23
 4142/4 4142/19 4143/21
                              4151/11 4151/12 4161/17
                                                            observes [1] 4214/16
 4146/6 4147/10
                               4161/17 4168/6
                                                            obviously [3] 4115/13 4127/5
Mr. Nader [1] 4115/11
                              news [5] 4143/5 4157/11
                                                             4160/4
Mr. Nitze [1] 4216/8
                              4182/13 4185/25 4193/18
                                                            occur [1] 4122/23
Mr. Nitze's [2] 4215/13
                              next [13] 4121/11 4142/21
                                                            occurred [2] 4130/18 4184/1
4216/2
                               4142/25 4143/4 4144/22
                                                            occurrences [1] 4191/2
Mr. Otaiba [1] 4125/7
                               4147/4 4147/13 4149/16
                                                            October [3] 4106/5 4180/8
Mr. Phares [1] 4115/12
                               4156/7 4183/24 4184/18
                                                             4221/8
Mr. Schachter [4] 4119/7
                               4211/18 4212/11
                                                            odds [1] 4163/21
4184/13 4200/22 4218/13
                             nexus [1] 4118/7
                                                            offer [36] 4111/3 4119/6
Mr. Schwarzman [3] 4217/3
                             nice [1] 4191/21
                                                             4124/9 4131/4 4131/15 4133/3
4217/11 4217/14
                                                             4137/9 4146/2 4149/5 4152/24
                              night [2] 4150/9 4213/5
Mr. Steffens [1]
                 4209/6
                                                             4154/19 4167/10 4173/13
                              nights [2] 4123/10 4150/9
Mr. Trump [1] 4130/11
                              nine [1] 4158/20
                                                             4179/22 4179/25 4180/22
Mr. Trump's [1] 4129/7
                              NITZE [2] 4106/15 4216/8
                                                             4183/9 4183/19 4183/20
Ms. Gibbs [2] 4109/8 4109/12
                              Nitze's [2] 4215/13 4216/2
                                                             4192/22 4195/13 4200/1
Mubawab [1] 4158/21
                              Nobody [1] 4132/11
                                                             4202/14 4204/4 4204/15
multiple [1] 4144/24
                              nomenclature [1] 4177/16
                                                             4205/25 4206/3 4206/16
multitude [2] 4190/4 4190/12
                              none [3]
                                       4174/17 4200/9
                                                             4207/1 4208/20 4209/2
Muslim [7] 4112/11 4126/19
                                                             4209/19 4210/1 4211/12
                              4211/14
 4127/6 4128/14 4139/17
                              nonjudgmental [1] 4127/7
                                                             4215/14 4215/16
 4161/2 4169/11
                                                            offered [10] 4124/18 4124/18
                              nonpolitical [1]
                                               4126/5
Muslims [5] 4112/21 4120/3
                                                             4124/21 4131/17 4131/18
                              norm [1] 4171/5
 4126/19 4169/6 4169/16
                              normal [1] 4140/18
                                                             4132/4 4195/24 4195/25
mutual [1] 4190/19
                              North [2] 4134/7 4135/24
                                                             4196/8 4200/10
```

Case 1.21-CI-003/1-DIVIC-TAIV	Document 393 Theu 03/13/2	5 rage 131 of 137 rage D #.
0	Paris [6] 406072 4135/22	4114/25 4115/4 4115/12
	4135/24 4136/1 4169/18	4115/17 4120/8 4121/24
offering [7] 4155/1 4161/21	4169/21	Phone [2] 4106/22 4107/20
4200/15 4200/16 4214/12	Parisians [1] 4170/5	<pre>photo [3] 4132/24 4144/5</pre>
4214/13 4214/14	Park [1] 4171/4	4144/18
office [3] 4106/13 4119/1	<pre>parked [1] 4144/2</pre>	<pre>photograph [2] 4133/11</pre>
4150/24	parlance [1] 4155/23	4133/12
Officer [1] 4156/4	parry [1] 4194/11	photographs [1] 4146/3
officers [1] 4177/21	<pre>part [21] 4122/6 4124/25</pre>	photos [1] 4145/16
official [1] 4123/4	4125/3 4144/23 4146/20	<pre>phrase [4] 4199/18 4200/9</pre>
oil [5] 4126/24 4187/2	4157/12 4158/17 4158/17	4200/17 4201/3
4187/19 4193/5 4194/13	4158/18 4159/3 4174/19	physical [1] 4188/22
<pre>ongoing [1] 4178/1 open [3] 4108/1 4215/21</pre>	4180/25 4181/13 4191/15	piano [1] 4188/16
4217/8	4191/16 4199/8 4199/13	<pre>picked [4] 4144/1 4145/2</pre>
operate [1] 4151/22	4200/17 4203/17 4215/19	4150/6 4193/17
opinion [3] 4115/2 4129/13	4218/21	picture [4] 4147/1 4149/10
4174/23	<pre>participate [1] 4205/3</pre>	4215/4 4215/6
opinions [1] 4216/14	particular [7] 4110/14	<pre>piece [4] 4122/1 4182/13</pre>
opportunities [2] 4134/10	4118/13 4154/10 4171/8	4194/20 4197/20
4163/24	4185/14 4195/16 4208/22	pieces [1] 4168/10
opportunity [9] 4111/22	particularly [2] 4123/6	PIF [3] 4158/23 4158/24
4115/14 4118/18 4120/6	4127/6	4158/24
4126/5 4127/1 4158/5 4161/10	<pre>partners [7] 4130/13 4158/23</pre>	
4126/3 4127/1 4138/3 4161/10	4171/10 4182/15 4182/21	<b>pitch</b> [1] 4210/8
opposite [1] 4169/13	4185/15 4191/14	<b>place [7]</b> 4125/23 4126/18
optimistic [1] 4219/12	pass [1] 4140/9	4129/6 4160/3 4172/23 4203/9
organization [1] 4217/5	passed [1] 4157/14	4219/17
organize [1] 4140/18	passing [1] 4194/10	<b>places [1]</b> 4125/16
origin [2] 4201/24 4202/1	<pre>past [6] 4112/25 4158/7</pre>	Plaintiff [1] 4106/4
original [4] 4120/20 4120/25	4186/8 4194/8 4194/18 4199/9	<b>plan [4]</b> 4163/25 4164/1
4121/4 4194/21	path [1] 4201/14	4211/20 4212/3
originally [2] 4137/3	Paul [25] 4110/25 4111/11	<b>plane [1]</b> 4140/15
4186/23	4114/25 4119/16 4119/20	planning [3] 4137/2 4137/18
Otaiba [11] 4123/25 4124/1	4119/23 4119/25 4120/5	4137/21
4124/6 4125/7 4125/13	4120/6 4120/11 4120/22	plans [1] 4137/15
4125/22 4126/13 4126/15	4121/20 4121/23 4121/25 4137/4 4137/14 4138/3	<pre>plate [1] 4218/3 platform [1] 4163/23</pre>
4128/11 4128/18 4130/21	4138/15 4138/20 4138/21	play [6] 4180/12 4181/15
ourselves [1] 4191/9	4138/21 4139/8 4160/16	4187/12 4188/16 4202/8
outdoors [1] 4172/9	4160/22 4161/5	4202/23
outraged [2] 4135/1 4136/4	pause [5] 4167/1 4202/25	played [4] 4179/13 4183/6
outrageous [1] 4134/23	4204/10 4204/14 4209/1	4202/24 4203/5
outside [2] 4144/6 4220/19	pay [1] 4178/24	player [3] 4130/5 4207/11
overnight [1] 4215/11	peace [2] 4211/19 4212/2	4207/17
overruled [3] 4124/20	peaceful [1] 4186/16	playing [2] 4180/13 4181/17
4125/17 4131/25	pearl [1] 4187/2	Plaza [2] 4106/14 4131/12
overseers [1] 4188/20	Pedro [1] 4135/8	pleased [1] 4170/5
own [7] 4117/18 4132/18	<b>peer [1]</b> 4214/6	poetic [1] 4138/9
4137/3 4158/16 4158/17	peninsula [2] 4186/1 4202/4	point [44] 4111/11 4112/19
4158/18 4194/19 owned [2] 4130/2 4159/3	<pre>percent [3] 4158/20 4158/22</pre>	4112/20 4112/21 4114/4
ownership [4] 4157/23 4158/9	4188/6	4115/4 4121/15 4121/17
4158/21 4159/6	perfect [1] 4176/8	4121/21 4122/21 4134/20
owning [1] 4159/6	performing [1] 4187/6	4145/1 4145/4 4145/6 4145/11
owns [1] 4133/17	perhaps [1] 4162/11	4145/15 4148/8 4151/20
oxygen [1] 4112/22	<b>period</b> [2] 4133/19 4184/6	4158/5 4159/1 4159/15 4169/3
	<b>permitted</b> [1] 4216/22	4170/4 4176/6 4184/3 4184/4
P	Persian [1] 4202/4	4189/9 4190/18 4190/18
<b>p.m</b> [1] 4106/5	person [6] 4194/3 4194/6	4191/23 4192/12 4193/21
pace [1] 4191/10	4196/15 4196/22 4214/20	4197/24 4200/5 4203/19
package [1] 4142/2	4216/10	4215/14 4216/6 4216/9
pages [2] 4143/13 4168/15	personal [1] 4184/6	4216/13 4216/21 4219/3
palace [4] 4121/25 4150/6	personally [5] 4121/9	4219/16 4219/18 4220/11
4150/8 4150/15	4122/15 4122/18 4123/6	points [8] 4111/19 4139/14
<pre>panel [1] 4202/9</pre>	4125/25	4154/8 4157/11 4211/21
<pre>paper [2] 4193/19 4193/23</pre>	perspective [2] 4113/3	4212/1 4219/2 4219/8
parade [1] 4135/21	4118/3 Pow 121 4135/5 4135/6	polarity [1] 4187/22
<pre>paragraph [3] 4126/4 4128/3</pre>	Peru [2] 4135/5 4135/6 petitions [1] 4133/19	policy [2] 4113/6 4127/15
4156/14	Phares [8] 4114/14 4114/20	<pre>polite [1] 4132/14 political [11] 4115/2</pre>
		POTTCTGAT [II] 4113/2
1	İ	1

```
prime [5] 106084 4186/9
P
                                                           pull [2] 4197/2 4200/24
                               4205/1 4205/13 4205/16
                                                           pulled [2] 4112/9 4142/14
political... [10] 4163/11
                              prince [18] 4117/14 4130/25
                                                           pumping [1] 4159/23
 4164/15 4177/22 4186/14
                                                           pun [1] 4148/3
                               4131/5 4131/8 4131/9 4131/13
 4188/8 4189/19 4189/20
                               4132/13 4133/1 4133/2 4133/8 punctuality [1]
                                                                            4122/9
 4189/23 4190/2 4194/20
                               4133/15 4133/19 4148/11
                                                           punctuation [1]
                                                                            4157/13
politics [3] 4119/22 4130/1
                               4150/17 4156/6 4156/16
                                                           pup [1] 4151/7
 4174/16
                               4159/6 4186/19
                                                           purpose [4] 4114/5 4122/16
polo [4] 4207/11 4207/14
                                                            4197/6 4216/24
                              prince's [2] 4133/13 4150/23
 4207/15 4207/17
                              princes [1] 4133/14
                                                           purposes [1] 4169/25
popularism [1] 4127/12
                              Princeton [1] 4135/9
                                                           pushed [1] 4127/25
population [2]
               4188/2 4188/7
                              principals [4]
                                             4117/1
                                                           put [13] 4109/3 4109/8
port [2] 4144/2 4144/6
                               4120/10 4122/3 4122/3
                                                            4109/14 4111/5 4112/22
portfolio [1] 4194/17
                                                            4120/19 4120/24 4132/18
                              private [10] 4111/20 4112/2
portion [3] 4159/7 4173/14
                               4140/14 4150/24 4157/22
                                                            4149/10 4165/15 4196/25
 4185/21
                               4158/9 4159/2 4161/25 4215/4
                                                            4200/3 4213/15
portions [3] 4109/25 4173/10
                               4215/6
 4185/18
                             pro [2]
                                      4145/21 4147/9
position [10] 4159/4 4160/19
                              problem [11] 4127/7 4135/20
                                                            Qatar [23]
                                                                       4128/19 4128/25
 4160/23 4160/24 4161/22
                               4135/21 4184/14 4190/20
                                                            4129/1 4129/9 4129/12
 4162/3 4204/7 4211/9 4211/19
                               4191/18 4200/18 4213/25
                                                            4129/24 4130/6 4130/19
 4217/10
                               4214/1 4215/23 4216/25
                                                            4133/24 4137/25 4137/25
positions [1] 4161/1
                                                            4169/19 4169/22 4169/23
                              problems [2] 4132/10 4205/6
positive [3] 4112/7 4116/9
                              proceed [1]
                                          4185/1
                                                            4177/9 4180/16 4185/22
 4180/16
                                                            4186/3 4186/14 4186/15
                              proceeded [2] 4144/1 4144/25
poster [1] 4187/13
                                                            4187/4 4188/11 4198/11
                              Proceedings [2] 4106/24
potential [4] 4163/12 4218/1
                               4107/24
                                                            Qatari [1] 4198/8
 4219/24 4219/25
                              process [2] 4140/10 4162/12
                                                           QIA [1] 4187/4
potentially [1] 4156/12
                              prod [1] 4162/11
                                                            qualities [1] 4186/23
poverty [1] 4147/23
                              produced [2]
                                           4106/25 4107/24
                                                           quarter [2] 4176/11 4190/10
Powell [6] 4203/25 4204/19
                             produces [1] 4197/20
                                                            questions [4] 4168/9 4178/12
4204/20 4205/3 4205/12
                             product [6] 4155/24 4156/1
                                                            4194/23 4220/2
4205/16
                               4156/12 4158/14 4159/10
                                                            quick [2] 4121/1 4190/2
power [4] 4140/23 4168/12
                               4159/13
                                                            quickly [3] 4109/3 4158/7
4186/16 4188/25
                              products [1] 4158/3
                                                            4174/23
powerful [2] 4110/17 4216/12
                              professional [3] 4144/25
                                                            Quite [1] 4169/13
PowerPoint [3] 4162/17
                               4145/12 4201/7
                                                            quiver [1] 4174/19
4168/15 4168/17
                              professor [4] 4126/14 4135/9
                                                           quote [1] 4143/14
powers [1] 4189/12
                              4141/18 4142/13
PPK [2] 4135/6 4135/8
                                                           R
                             proffer [1] 4217/20
practices [2] 4188/8 4189/4
                                                            racist [1] 4127/16
                             proffered [1] 4216/24
preferences [1] 4189/21
                                                           radical [1] 4127/12
                             progress [1] 4187/13
preparation [2] 4110/14
                                              4186/25
                             progressive [1]
                                                           raise [2] 4219/15 4219/17
4142/8
                             project [1] 4152/17
                                                           raised [1] 4114/24
            4141/22
prepare [1]
                             proliferate [1] 4197/18
                                                           raises [1] 4216/25
prepared [2] 4186/7 4191/1
                             proliferation [1] 4190/1
                                                           Ralph [1] 4207/10
present [1] 4133/19
                             prolific [1] 4171/1
                                                           Ramadan [1] 4125/23
presentation [2] 4152/20
                                                            rampant [1] 4191/17
                             prominent [1] 4110/6
 4167/25
                             promise [1] 4127/20
                                                           ran [1] 4118/25
presented [2] 4166/21 4167/4
                             propaganda [2] 4173/6 4173/7
                                                           ranch [5] 4136/20 4161/9
presenting [1] 4190/18
                                                            4161/15 4172/24 4198/17
                             proponent [1] 4212/2
president [11] 4112/25
                              proposed [1] 4204/6
                                                           Rancheros [5] 4164/23 4165/6
 4117/16 4135/6 4135/13
                                                            4165/9 4165/10 4165/12
                              proprietary [1] 4123/4
 4135/13 4139/19 4173/17
                             prosperity [2] 4186/5 4212/3 RANDALL [1] 4106/20
 4175/4 4211/7 4211/10 4212/4
                                                           rapid [1] 4190/1
                              protected [1] 4221/2
presidential [2] 4113/9
                                                           rapists [1] 4135/1
                              Protection [1] 4136/2
 4169/4
                                                           Rashid [50] 4115/25 4117/5
                              protectorates [1] 4186/23
presiding [1] 4108/3
                                                            4117/9 4117/15 4117/17
                              proud [3] 4189/21 4205/11
press [2] 4142/25 4143/4
                               4210/8
                                                            4117/20 4117/22 4117/24
prestigious [1] 4148/5
                              provide [5] 4112/19 4156/20
                                                            4118/4 4119/3 4121/1 4139/6
pretty [2] 4164/11 4220/8
                               4171/14 4215/10 4216/22
                                                            4140/9 4141/11 4142/7 4145/3
previous [5] 4154/23 4159/25
                              providing [1] 4156/25
                                                            4145/20 4145/23 4152/21
 4188/19 4199/10 4205/1
                              prudence [4]
                                           4127/18 4127/24
                                                            4153/8 4153/12 4153/22
previously [3] 4108/17
                               4128/8 4128/12
                                                            4162/25 4163/13 4164/8
 4137/24 4180/2
                              PSG [1] 4130/6
                                                            4164/22 4164/24 4165/1
price [2] 4190/21 4190/25
                              public [2] 4128/13 4173/5
                                                            4165/5 4166/1 4166/7 4166/14
primarily [3] 4119/24 4138/2
                                                            4166/21 4167/5 4167/7 4167/7
                              publicity [1] 4213/4
 4188/1
                                                            4167/18 4178/6 4187/8 4195/7
                              publicly [1]
                                           4132/8
primary [1] 4143/9
                              Published [1] 4202/22
                                                            4196/14 4196/19 4196/23
```

```
references 10609168/17
R
                                                            4204/24
                               4184/12
                                                           represents [1] 4188/6
Rashid... [7] 4197/4 4197/11
                              referencing [1] 4113/16
                                                           republic [1] 4187/23
4198/5 4198/23 4199/2 4199/5
                              referred [2] 4188/3 4193/17
                                                           reputational [4] 4158/3
 4205/21
                              referring [3] 4175/18
                                                            4169/16 4170/1 4170/3
Rashid Al Malik [1] 4139/6
                              4201/25 4202/2
                                                           request [4] 4170/13 4170/15
Rashid is [1] 4196/23
                                                            4170/16 4202/13
                             refers [1] 4165/22
Rashid's [6] 4119/16 4120/12
                              reflects [1]
                                                           requested [2] 4115/9 4204/16
                                           4196/7
4120/21 4140/23 4164/2
                                                           require [1] 4214/3
                              refusing [1]
                                           4189/2
4164/8
                              regarding [3] 4156/12
                                                           research [1] 4213/2
rather [1] 4138/7
                              4192/19 4218/1
                                                           resolution [1] 4133/16
rationale [1] 4196/24
                              regardless [3]
                                            4163/7
                                                           resource [2] 4119/24 4189/10
re [1] 4188/22
                              4163/22 4163/25
                                                           respect [9] 4125/14 4129/17
re-designation [1] 4188/22
                              regards [1] 4163/13
                                                            4142/12 4191/5 4193/24
read [5] 4140/9 4140/23
                              regime [2] 4145/8 4177/22
                                                            4194/5 4195/16 4195/25
4168/20 4185/20 4217/21
                              regimes [1] 4188/15
                                                            4196/2
reading [1] 4218/17
                              region [21]
                                          4126/24 4127/13
                                                           respected [3] 4112/18 4187/6
ready [2] 4146/20 4146/20
                               4137/2 4160/8 4185/24 4186/2
                                                            4194/6
reality [1] 4190/22
                               4187/20 4188/13 4189/5
                                                           respectfully [1] 4220/16
really [16]
           4112/10 4115/20
                               4198/20 4199/6 4199/7
                                                           respond [2] 4164/2 4166/3
4121/10 4121/23 4127/19
                              4199/14 4199/18 4201/3
                                                           responded [1] 4178/10
4135/3 4139/23 4155/5
                                                           responding [1] 4201/4
                               4201/24 4202/1 4203/7
 4168/20 4176/16 4179/14
                              4203/16 4203/18 4203/18
                                                           response [8] 4117/22 4127/2
4193/21 4193/25 4194/9
                             regional [2] 4186/12 4188/16
                                                            4127/11 4127/23 4154/24
4195/1 4218/15
                                                            4201/17 4201/22 4218/5
                              regulations [1] 4136/2
realm [1] 4154/7
                             reintroduced [1] 4135/14
                                                           responsibility [3] 4198/19
reason [8] 4139/9 4154/5
                                                            4199/6 4199/10
                             related [1] 4174/6
4174/19 4197/15 4197/16
                             relates [1] 4213/13
                                                           responsible [1]
                                                                            4211/10
4197/17 4203/17 4216/25
                             relations [4] 4114/23 4116/4 rest [3] 4157/24 4185/24
reasons [3] 4135/15 4189/25
                              4141/19 4185/23
                                                            4200/4
4219/24
                             relationship [9] 4115/7
                                                           restful [1] 4213/5
receive [1] 4159/25
                              4115/8 4118/19 4129/8
                                                           restrictions [1] 4162/2
received [46] 4109/2 4110/4
                              4147/19 4157/25 4177/25
                                                           result [1] 4199/16
4111/8 4111/9 4116/14
                              4183/17 4188/9
                                                           results [2] 4163/7 4201/12
4119/12 4119/13 4125/18
                             relationships [4] 4154/6
                                                           revenues [1] 4126/24
4132/6 4133/6 4133/7 4137/12
                              4163/8 4163/25 4177/20
                                                           revisited [1] 4154/5
 4137/13 4141/5 4144/3
                             release [2] 4142/25 4143/4
                                                           revisiting [1] 4135/21
 4146/15 4146/17 4152/3
                             relentless [1] 4190/15
                                                           Rick [5] 4209/21 4209/23
 4153/7 4155/7 4159/19
                             relevance [8] 4117/19 4118/7
                                                            4209/24 4210/9 4210/15
 4162/25 4167/16 4167/17
                              4118/13 4124/17 4154/25
                                                           ride [5] 4144/14 4144/19
 4180/5 4181/2 4181/3 4185/4
                              4195/22 4213/25 4216/15
                                                            4147/11 4159/24 4165/12
 4193/1 4193/2 4202/19
                             relevancy [1] 4191/5
                                                           rights [3]
                                                                      4177/19 4186/13
 4204/17 4204/18 4206/6
                             relevant [6] 4131/23 4179/6
                                                            4189/3
4206/7 4206/19 4206/20
                              4184/10 4195/21 4200/5
                                                           rise [1] 4108/2
4207/4 4207/5 4207/21 4209/5
                              4214/11
                                                           Riyadh [1] 4148/19
4210/5 4210/6 4211/15
                             reliable [2]
                                           4117/21 4190/4
                                                           road [2] 4191/10 4216/5
4211/16 4220/18
                             relieved [1]
                                           4190/15
                                                           Rob [1] 4206/21
receives [1] 4133/14
                                           4187/12 4189/6
                             religion [6]
                                                           role [3] 4110/14 4110/16
recent [2] 4186/7 4201/11
                              4189/17 4189/22 4189/24
                                                            4156/23
recently [2] 4119/23 4189/2
                              4194/13
                                                           room [3]
                                                                     4117/13 4132/16
Recess [1] 4176/25
                                                            4150/16
                             religious [1] 4191/23
recitation [1] 4184/6
                             rely [1] 4133/15
                                                           roommate [1] 4198/12
recognize [5] 4109/8 4124/5
                             remainder [1] 4188/7
                                                           root [1] 4190/20
4132/24 4192/18 4195/6
                             remarkable [2] 4186/10
                                                           round [1] 4160/17
recollection [1] 4171/24
                               4187/25
                                                           Royal [1] 4187/21
reconfirmed [1] 4117/7
                              remarkably [1] 4185/22
                                                           RPR [2] 4106/22 4107/20
record [2] 4204/8 4208/25
                             remember [17] 4112/8 4112/9
                                                           rule [1] 4215/18
recorded [2] 4106/24 4107/24
                               4118/24 4120/2 4122/18
                                                           ruled [1] 4180/2
redact [3] 4184/11 4208/23
                               4126/14 4126/22 4129/20
                                                           rulers [1] 4186/21
4215/14
                               4134/6 4134/24 4135/20
                                                           ruling [3] 4186/18 4202/11
redaction [4] 4185/2 4204/6
                               4162/16 4162/19 4173/22
                                                            4220/18
4204/16 4214/1
                              4176/11 4178/19 4189/7
                                                           rulings [1] 4154/23
redundant [1] 4218/24
                              remotely [1] 4216/20
                                                           run [3]
                                                                   4111/16 4111/19
refer [3] 4156/8 4177/9
                              renders [1]
                                         4184/9
                                                            4187/6
 4201/25
                             repeatedly [1] 4218/18
                                                           running [2]
                                                                       4112/25 4140/3
reference [9] 4112/3 4122/16
                             Reporter [2] 4106/22 4107/20 RYAN [1]
                                                                     4106/15
 4155/14 4161/1 4161/13
                             reporters [1] 4174/15
 4184/3 4194/16 4198/10
                              representative [1] 4130/22
 4204/2
                                                           Saad [4]
                                                                     4204/23 4204/25
                              representing [2] 4120/10
```

```
4154/2 41840610195/16
S
                                                           shifts [1] 4190/2
                               4196/11
                                                           shirt [1] 4172/8
Saad... [2] 4205/1 4205/6
                                                           short [1] 4215/16
                              seconds [2] 4172/21 4204/9
Saeed [7] 4192/19 4193/3
                             Secretary [1] 4150/13
                                                           shortly [1] 4178/18
4193/4 4193/13 4194/3 4194/5
                             secretly [2] 4114/6 4123/11
                                                           shown [3] 4124/22 4200/17
4197/17
                             section [1] 4185/19
                                                            4200/25
Saint [3] 4130/3 4169/18
                              sects [2] 4188/5 4191/25
                                                           side [9]
                                                                    4111/18 4120/19
4169/21
                                                            4120/19 4120/25 4120/25
                              secular [1] 4187/23
Saint-Germain [2] 4169/18
                              security [10] 4109/15 4110/8
                                                            4126/22 4126/22 4140/6
4169/21
                               4143/1 4147/22 4148/3
                                                            4140/7
Saint-German [1] 4130/3
                               4152/16 4177/18 4191/4
                                                           sidebar [6] 4183/21 4184/1
Salafism [1] 4188/3
                               4204/21 4205/5
                                                            4184/17 4185/3 4219/19
Salafist [1]
            4188/8
                              seeking [1] 4135/11
                                                            4220/12
Salman [11] 4148/9 4148/15
                              self [1] 4188/18
                                                           sides [1] 4140/6
4148/18 4148/18 4148/18
                              self-administered [1]
                                                           significant [1] 4216/10
4149/7 4149/12 4150/4
                              4188/18
                                                           silly [1] 4132/8
4151/21 4214/9 4214/13
                              sell [2]
                                       4155/25 4156/1
                                                           Silver [3] 4158/20 4158/20
Salman's [1] 4150/8
                              selling [2] 4156/12 4169/18
                                                            4159/1
SAMUEL [1] 4106/15
                                                           similar [4] 4135/15 4164/12
                              semi [1] 4186/21
San [1] 4110/6
                                                            4216/22 4217/10
                              semi-independent [1] 4186/21
sand [3] 4188/19 4189/16
                                                           simple [2] 4163/12 4170/25
                             sending [7] 4143/18 4153/13
4189/21
                                                           simply [2] 4127/16 4219/1
                              4193/8 4196/15 4198/10
sands [1]
         4190/13
                              4206/8 4207/23
                                                           simultaneously [1] 4134/5
Santa [3]
          4161/10 4165/12
                             sends [5] 4119/3 4141/11
                                                           single [1] 4204/7
4172/24
                              4142/1 4153/22 4167/7
                                                           sister [1] 4155/18
Saud [2] 4187/15 4187/21
                             SENIOR [1] 4106/10
                                                           sit [4] 4113/21 4129/2
Saudi [26] 4131/10 4131/13
                             sense [2] 4123/12 4196/6
                                                            4132/15 4136/5
 4148/11 4151/5 4151/19
                             sensitive [2] 4139/12
                                                           sitting [1] 4192/1
4151/23 4152/1 4158/25
                              4139/13
                                                           situation [6] 4112/19
4163/3 4163/9 4163/17
                             sensitivities [1] 4193/22
                                                            4132/15 4163/11 4164/15
4164/15 4166/20 4174/22
                             sent [29] 4109/21 4110/1
                                                            4186/15 4193/16
4175/2 4175/9 4175/23 4177/9
                              4116/15 4117/5 4137/14
                                                           six [6] 4150/18 4180/8
4180/17 4187/14 4187/16
                              4141/21 4142/5 4142/7
                                                            4180/9 4183/2 4195/7 4198/2
4187/18 4187/24 4188/9
                              4142/25 4153/8 4153/12
                                                           size [2] 4150/17 4217/1
4188/11 4215/2
                              4160/2 4160/3 4165/1 4166/1
                                                           skepticism [1] 4188/14
Saudis [1] 4150/7
                              4166/17 4167/18 4193/7
                                                           skis [2] 4138/8 4145/8
saw [19] 4109/20 4117/4
                              4195/10 4196/18 4196/22
                                                           slavery [1] 4189/8
4118/19 4136/20 4141/17
                              4197/4 4197/5 4197/5 4197/7
                                                           slides [1] 4167/1
4142/12 4147/4 4149/13
                              4197/25 4198/5 4199/23
                                                           slowly [1] 4142/21
4153/20 4157/7 4166/6
                                                           small [2] 4188/2 4219/16
                              4205/21
4171/20 4172/7 4183/2
                             sentence [5] 4195/16 4196/11
                                                           smaller [1] 4217/6
 4192/20 4193/6 4193/9
                              4200/4 4200/7 4204/7
                                                           smart [11] 4115/1 4115/18
4198/16 4205/21
                             September [2] 4129/5 4129/9
                                                            4119/24 4126/16 4127/19
scale [2] 4213/22 4217/5
                             Serbian [2] 4145/12 4147/9
                                                            4129/21 4132/17 4189/21
scene [1] 4121/22
                              series [2] 4175/24 4193/17
                                                            4207/11 4209/13 4210/15
SCHACHTER [16] 4106/20
                             serious [2] 4114/4 4127/17
                                                           SnapChat [1] 4171/2
4119/7 4150/2 4172/15 4176/6
                             seriously [1] 4114/3
                                                           snapshot [1] 4119/21
4176/14 4177/4 4177/6 4182/3
                                                           soccer [5] 4130/2 4130/5
                             served [1] 4187/17
 4184/13 4185/7 4200/22
                             service [1] 4177/21
                                                            4130/6 4130/8 4130/12
4203/6 4213/14 4218/13
                             services [1] 4149/5
                                                           solve [1] 4132/9
4222/3
                             set [6] 4118/9 4118/14
                                                           somewhere [1] 4160/8
Schatzker [3] 4172/11
                              4118/21 4118/23 4123/18
                                                           son [6] 4129/19 4131/9
4172/22 4172/25
                              4197/19
                                                            4138/2 4148/17 4186/16
scheduling [1] 4134/13
                             setting [5] 4118/15 4135/4
                                                            4191/11
Schwarzman [6] 4213/20
                              4136/9 4147/17 4203/15
                                                           sons [2]
                                                                     4138/2 4176/2
4214/14 4216/18 4217/3
                             seven [2] 4180/14 4194/2
                                                           soon [1] 4161/11
4217/11 4217/14
                             Seventh [1] 4106/19
                                                           SOPHIA [1] 4107/8
scientific [1] 4215/24
                                                           sort [5] 4128/1 4156/11
                             several [2] 4111/19 4211/18
scope [2] 4108/7 4220/19
                             Shamsi [1] 4178/9
                                                            4165/22 4170/4 4172/8
screen [4] 4125/1 4156/15
                              share [3] 4154/7 4190/2
                                                           sound [3] 4203/1 4203/3
4181/7 4196/25
                              4198/22
                                                            4216/4
sea [1] 4150/8
                              shared [3] 4115/13 4148/20
                                                           sounds [1] 4216/3
seal [1] 4218/1
                              4194/8
                                                           source [1] 4179/11
searching [1] 4127/12
                              shareholder [2] 4131/11
                                                           South [2] 4107/4 4120/4
seated [3] 4108/12 4177/3
                              4143/9
                                                           sovereign [8]
                                                                          4155/16
4213/11
                              shares [1] 4203/20
                                                            4155/17 4157/23 4158/8
seats [1]
          4150/17
                              shed [1] 4182/16
                                                            4158/15 4158/19 4187/4
second [10] 4121/3 4131/22
                             sheikh [97]
                                                            4187/5
 4136/13 4139/2 4139/4 4149/1
                             Sheikha [1] 4186/11
                                                           speaking [5] 4108/24 4115/16
```

```
stone [1] \frac{1061}{1}
S
                                                           Sylvio [3]
                                                                       4116/3 4116/3
                                         4219/3 4219/4
                                                            4154/17
                              stones [2]
                 4123/13
speaking... [3]
                              stop [2] 4210/23 4210/25
                                                            Syria [1] 4202/5
4203/12 4214/7
                                                            systems [2] 4189/20 4189/20
                              stopped [4] 4180/13 4181/17
speaks [1] 4214/8
                               4203/2 4203/5
Special [2] 4211/7 4211/9
                              store [1] 4184/10
specific [1] 4176/17
                              Strained [1] 4129/10
                                                            Tabet [9] 4116/3 4154/17
specifically [2] 4110/12
                              strange [1] 4115/22
                                                            4155/8 4156/3 4156/19 4157/7
4114/14
                                                            4157/9 4157/16 4159/9
                              strategy [7] 4162/18 4162/18
speechwriter [1] 4210/7
                               4163/6 4163/16 4163/22
                                                            tables [1]
                                                                       4213/19
speed [1]
          4157/10
                                                            Tahnoon [1]
                               4166/8 4204/21
                                                                        4111/18
spell [1]
          4178/21
                              STRAWN [1]
                                         4107/6
                                                            Tahnoun [75]
spend [1]
          4174/10
                              Street [3] 4107/4 4107/7
                                                            Tahnoun's [6]
                                                                          4144/1 4144/7
          4174/9 4218/17
spent [2]
                              4155/22
                                                            4153/14 4153/22 4154/10
sphere [1] 4112/11
                              strength [1]
                                           4186/17
                                                            4159/19
spheres [1] 4155/20
                              strong [2]
                                         4163/7 4186/3
                                                            tailored [1] 4183/22
spite [3] 4187/22 4188/8
                              stronger [1] 4166/19
                                                            Talal [1]
                                                                      4131/9
4188/14
                              structure [2] 4155/24
                                                            talks [3] 4159/9 4168/11
spoken [1] 4179/18
                                                            4193/17
                              4189/23
sport [1] 4190/21
                              structured [1] 4192/6
                                                           Tamim [4]
                                                                      4128/25 4129/15
sports [2] 4130/3 4185/25
                              style [1] 4150/15
                                                            4130/2 4186/6
spot [2] 4150/19 4213/15
                              subject [14] 4116/16 4124/6
                                                           Tangiers [4] 4140/15 4143/25
spread [1] 4173/7
                              4130/17 4151/22 4163/3
                                                            4144/2 4144/6
Spring [2] 4179/18 4209/14
                               4185/2 4185/10 4202/11
                                                            tap [1]
                                                                   4181/23
spun [1] 4157/1
                                                           TAQA [1] 4193/5
                               4205/14 4209/15 4210/13
staff [3] 4137/3 4144/25
                                                            taught [1] 4191/6
                               4210/14 4210/19 4212/6
4146/25
                                                           TBZ [1] 4164/24
                              subjects [2] 4170/24 4199/2
stage [1]
          4135/23
                              submission [1] 4108/5
                                                            tea [4] 4147/16 4150/22
stand [2]
          4108/10 4108/11
                                                            4150/23 4150/23
                              submit [3] 4216/16 4216/16
standards [1] 4189/3
                              4218/20
                                                            teach [1] 4191/9
standing [3] 4118/8 4126/15
                              submitted [1] 4217/25
                                                            team [4] 4144/24 4145/3
4188/8
                              substantial [1] 4168/11
                                                            4145/13 4160/6
stars [1] 4118/17
                              succeed [1] 4129/19
                                                            teams [1] 4187/7
start [14] 4124/13 4125/19
                              success [1] 4199/16
                                                            technological [1]
                                                                              4171/3
4126/18 4148/1 4148/16
                              successful [8] 4127/22
                                                            Ted [1] 4112/9
4158/4 4158/4 4163/13
                              4129/1 4133/25 4136/7 4136/8
                                                           teenage [1] 4188/25
4170/10 4172/1 4173/11
                              4150/13 4163/21 4186/15
                                                            television [7] 4170/19
4185/19 4201/4 4219/7
                                                            4170/23 4171/15 4171/18
                              Sudan [1] 4175/23
started [2] 4151/4 4151/7
                              sudden [1] 4190/2
                                                            4171/21 4179/19 4181/18
starting [3] 4145/1 4173/19
                                                            tens [1] 4187/11
                              sufficiently [1] 4125/8
4211/18
                              suggest [1] 4124/22
                                                            term [3]
                                                                     4203/7 4203/15
state [15] 4124/19 4124/23
                              suggested [2] 4136/4 4136/4
                                                            4205/9
4125/16 4131/18 4131/24
                              summary [2] 4164/25 4165/25
                                                            terms [4] 4130/10 4171/4
4150/14 4154/23 4156/8
                              summered [1] 4150/7
                                                            4213/16 4217/17
4185/23 4189/25 4196/1
                              Summit [1] 4135/10
                                                            terrible [2] 4138/20 4147/23
4196/2 4196/6 4196/7 4200/12
                              sun [1] 4147/17
                                                            territorial [1] 4138/23
state's [1] 4186/5
                              Sunnis [2] 4188/1 4188/7
                                                            terrorism [2] 4174/25 4178/3
statement [2] 4127/7 4201/1
                              sunny [1]
                                        4127/3
                                                            testified [2] 4108/18 4184/8
statements [7] 4125/13
                                                                         4141/18
                              super [3] 4119/24 4129/21
                                                            testimony [3]
4127/5 4132/4 4134/25
                              4210/15
                                                            4142/13 4220/18
4200/19 4213/22 4217/1
                              support [3] 4135/11 4169/5
                                                            text [7] 4131/5 4132/12
states [11] 4106/1 4106/3
                                                            4138/1 4139/25 4140/1
                              4174/13
4106/3 4106/10 4106/13
                                                            4208/14 4218/17
                              supported [1] 4186/9
 4112/5 4123/21 4169/11
                                                            Thani [3] 4138/1 4186/4
                              supportive [2] 4173/17
 4186/20 4188/18 4190/4
                              4211/22
                                                            4198/7
stay [2] 4116/12 4213/3
                              suppose [1] 4164/7
                                                            that it [1] 4215/4
stayed [1] 4151/3
                              supposedly [1] 4117/13
                                                            theme [1] 4178/10
steep [1] 4190/22
                              surfaces [1] 4217/16
                                                            themes [6] 4165/10 4174/18
Steffens [2] 4208/15 4209/6
                              surrounds [1] 4188/14
                                                            4178/17 4178/19 4179/3
stenography [2] 4106/24
                              survey [1] 4215/24
                                                            4179/5
4107/24
                              surveyed [1] 4215/24
                                                            themselves [4] 4190/5 4190/6
step [3] 4135/2 4213/10
                                                            4190/7 4219/11
                              survive [1] 4188/20
4220/8
                              Sustained [4] 4130/16 4141/2
                                                           therefore [1] 4214/21
Stephen [2] 4213/20 4214/14
                              4179/1 4183/8
                                                            they've [1] 4158/16
steps [3] 4118/15 4189/7
                              switch [1]
                                         4170/8
                                                            thinker [1]
                                                                        4194/5
4213/12
                                                            thinking [7] 4110/14 4114/22
                              sworn [1]
                                        4108/18
STEVEN [1] 4106/21
                              sworn/affirmed [1]
                                                 4108/18
                                                            4154/12 4154/21 4185/23
stewards [1] 4186/5
                                                            4193/25 4219/10
                              Sykes [3] 4199/24 4201/5
stick [1] 4127/13
                              4201/6
                                                            third [1] 4121/8
```

```
transition 10612/189/3
Т
                                                             4215/6 4216/7
                                                            type [2] 4109/11 4139/25
                              transitions [1] 4186/16
THOMAS [5] 4106/6 4108/17
                              travel [2] 4137/2 4137/15
                                                            typical [3] 4116/11 4150/15
4121/8 4166/21 4167/4
                                                             4193/21
                              traveled [1] 4113/14
thoughtful [2] 4187/10
                              treaty [6] 4135/22 4135/24
4207/19
                               4135/24 4136/1 4175/20
thoughts [10] 4179/8 4193/22
                                                            U.S [11] 4127/15 4141/19
                               4175/22
4194/4 4208/6 4208/9 4209/10
                              trek [1]
                                       4145/19
                                                             4186/2 4187/14 4187/16
 4209/12 4209/14 4210/14
                              tremendous [2] 4186/4 4186/6
                                                             4187/21 4188/9 4188/12
 4210/18
                              trial [10] 4106/9 4162/17
                                                             4189/8 4193/5 4211/23
thousands [1] 4214/22
                                                            U.S. [1] 4187/24
                               4166/16 4167/20 4171/20
thread [1] 4192/2
                               4173/4 4179/14 4182/1 4217/1
                                                            U.S./Saudi [1] 4187/24
threads [1] 4191/25
                                                            U.S.A [3] 4111/20 4112/2
                               4217/9
threat [1] 4126/23
                              tribal [2]
                                         4188/18 4192/10
                                                             4141/12
three [8] 4129/18 4146/7
                              tribe [2]
                                        4133/14 4189/22
                                                            UAE [45]
                                                                     4110/17 4111/19
4146/10 4153/12 4164/25
                              tribes [3] 4189/1 4189/14
                                                             4112/18 4123/25 4127/22
4165/25 4174/24 4175/10
                               4189/17
                                                             4128/1 4129/9 4129/11
three-page [2] 4164/25
                                                             4141/12 4141/18 4142/2
                              trick [1] 4191/9
4165/25
                                                             4147/19 4149/3 4149/5
                              trip [2]
                                       4137/19 4137/22
throne [1] 4129/19
                                                             4162/18 4163/3 4163/9
                              trouble [2]
                                          4113/10 4168/15
throughout [1] 4191/7
                              true [7] 4131/23 4132/5
                                                             4163/17 4164/15 4166/7
           4128/6
throws [1]
                               4155/4 4168/12 4200/16
                                                             4166/20 4168/11 4168/17
thrust [1]
           4194/11
                               4200/21 4201/1
                                                             4170/13 4170/16 4173/6
Thursday [1] 4137/17
                                                             4173/7 4173/25 4174/4 4175/1
                              trump [54] 4110/22 4112/4
time-wise [1] 4176/15
                                                             4175/9 4175/11 4175/23
                               4112/10 4112/16 4113/17
timing [3] 4202/15 4213/13
                               4113/22 4114/7 4115/15
                                                             4177/9 4180/19 4184/4 4184/5
4218/13
                               4117/16 4118/2 4120/2
                                                             4184/12 4186/18 4186/25
tired [1]
          4171/5
                               4123/11 4123/19 4123/20
                                                             4187/11 4194/3 4202/3
title [2] 4110/13 4185/10
                               4124/7 4125/25 4126/12
                                                             4203/10 4217/5
TJB [1] 4191/11
                               4126/18 4127/4 4128/10
                                                            UAE's [2] 4123/20 4142/14
today [3] 4171/2 4186/25
                               4128/18 4128/20 4129/2
                                                            UAE/Saudi [2] 4163/3 4163/17
4204/23
                               4129/12 4129/24 4130/3
                                                            UAE/U.S.A [1] 4141/12
together [2] 4163/6 4165/14
                               4130/11 4130/18 4130/21
                                                            ultraconservative [1]
tolerance [4] 4162/10
                               4130/25 4131/13 4132/16
                                                             4187/23
4190/21 4194/22 4197/20
                               4134/1 4134/3 4134/8 4134/17
                                                            unbelievably [1] 4148/16
toll [1] 4190/22
                               4135/13 4135/16 4136/1
                                                            uncomfortable [1] 4134/22
Tom [7] 4156/3 4163/3 4163/5
                               4138/19 4139/19 4139/22
                                                            uncovered [1] 4219/2
4163/17 4164/22 4194/1
                                                            understandable [1] 4199/11
                               4150/11 4160/24 4161/22
 4210/7
                               4175/4 4175/4 4178/20
                                                            understatement [1] 4206/11
tomorrow [10] 4176/22 4213/1
                                                            understood [6]
                                                                           4143/17
                               4189/22 4206/12 4210/11
 4213/5 4213/8 4215/18
                                                             4163/18 4165/23 4198/5
                               4210/16 4211/7 4212/4
 4217/22 4218/3 4218/11
                              Trump's [3] 4114/8 4129/7
                                                             4198/10 4200/23
 4219/14 4221/7
                               4201/9
                                                            unduly [1] 4219/12
tonight [2] 4215/18 4218/5
                              Trump-crafted [1] 4160/24
                                                            unfortunate [1] 4190/22
tool [1] 4191/9
                              trust [2] 4127/8 4190/23
                                                            Unfortunately [2] 4147/6
top [17] 4110/2 4110/8
                              trusted [1] 4188/12
                                                             4157/14
4111/16 4111/17 4125/4
                              truth [14] 4124/15 4124/18
                                                            unfulfilled [1] 4190/19
4127/20 4128/25 4137/7
                               4124/22 4131/17 4131/19
                                                            unique [2] 4186/17 4188/17
 4137/8 4137/8 4157/22 4158/5
                               4132/2 4154/20 4154/25
                                                            united [10] 4106/1 4106/3
 4164/18 4195/18 4195/19
                               4184/7 4184/9 4196/9 4200/10
                                                            4106/3 4106/10 4106/13
 4195/19 4197/24
                               4213/23 4214/12
                                                             4112/5 4123/20 4169/11
topic [3] 4162/15 4170/8
                                                             4174/22 4189/1
                              tumultuous [1] 4190/14
4171/8
                                                            University [2] 4110/6
                              turn [9] 4126/4 4127/18
topics [7] 4164/11 4171/23
                                                             4114/22
                               4127/24 4128/8 4128/12
4171/25 4173/21 4194/24
                               4168/10 4175/25 4188/24
                                                            unknown [1] 4115/6
4194/24 4198/24
                               4189/6
                                                            unless [1] 4168/19
total [2] 4173/2 4190/25
                                                            unlike [2] 4210/10 4210/11
                              turned [1] 4203/4
totally [2] 4126/17 4184/7
                              Turning [1] 4205/20
                                                            unnecessary [1]
                                                                            4218/25
touch [1] 4154/8
                                                            unrelenting [1]
                                                                            4189/12
                              TV [6] 4170/12 4170/12
tourism [1] 4187/9
                               4170/21 4171/4 4171/5
                                                            unthinkable [1]
                                                                            4175/20
touristic [1] 4187/1
                               4171/11
                                                            unwillingness [1] 4192/11
towards [2] 4154/6 4169/10
                              twice [1] 4159/16
                                                            update [3] 4154/11 4156/11
Tower [1] 4158/23
                                                             4160/9
                              Twitter [1] 4171/2
TowerBrook [1] 4159/1
                              two [21] 4113/5 4120/25
                                                            updated [1]
                                                                        4160/6
track [1] 4160/6
                               4125/5 4126/6 4126/8 4129/18
                                                            upgrade [1]
                                                                        4193/14
trade [2]
          4134/7 4187/2
                               4134/6 4135/22 4155/20
                                                            upset [1] 4173/19
tradition [1] 4189/20
                               4164/25 4165/10 4165/25
                                                            urge [1]
                                                                     4219/1
training [2] 4145/8 4157/12
                                                            USA [2]
                                                                    4166/20 4168/18
                               4168/15 4178/23 4181/12
transaction [1] 4148/4
                               4187/5 4204/8 4209/3 4213/9
                                                            uses [3] 4200/9 4200/17
```

web [4] 414069131177/20 U 4127/18 4140/12 4168/21 4199/11 4199/11 4169/1 4181/20 4183/4 uses... [1] 4201/2 4201/22 4206/10 4209/9 website [3] 4142/14 4142/15 **usual [1]** 4151/1 4181/6 writes [13] 4127/2 4155/13 **utilize [2]** 4163/8 4193/15 week [3] 4129/5 4156/7 4156/3 4163/3 4163/5 4163/10 utilizing [1] 4219/22 4211/18 4164/11 4164/14 4164/22 weekend [2] 4133/13 4157/10 4165/5 4178/6 4201/11 4209/9 weekends [1] 4133/21 writing [3] 4140/1 4170/25 vagaries [2] 4190/2 4191/2 **welcome** [1] 4219/9 4191/12 **value [2]** 4112/15 4113/3 well-meaning [1] 4169/16 writings [1] 4182/20 **valued [2]** 4188/12 4188/13 West [15] 4182/24 4183/14 written [1] 4117/9 **van [3]** 4143/24 4144/1 4185/11 4188/5 4189/2 4189/4 wrote [32] 4111/14 4111/16 4150/6 4111/17 4112/2 4116/19 4190/3 4191/22 4193/11 vanish [1] 4189/15 4193/16 4194/7 4195/11 4116/23 4117/7 4121/5 vans [1] 4147/14 4197/11 4197/18 4203/20 4121/11 4127/23 4128/8 variance [1] 4177/20 4190/18 West's [1] 4132/7 4139/5 4139/8 4139/11 **varied** [1] 4114/25 western [4] 4129/21 4188/19 4139/15 4139/21 4157/6 various [5] 4138/4 4170/9 4188/25 4189/12 4157/9 4159/22 4160/16 4179/13 4189/1 4193/18 Western-educated [1] 4129/21 4161/9 4164/12 4182/23 **venues** [1] 4187/1 4183/1 4193/13 4194/15 westernized [2] 4126/17 **version** [1] 4166/19 4198/15 4198/19 4204/22 4131/13 **versus** [1] 4106/5 whimsical [1] 4189/23 4210/10 4211/17 **viable [1]** 4112/10 **white** [1] 4193/18 Videgaray [1] 4134/12 **whole [4]** 4125/1 4214/21 video [18] 4180/13 4180/13 4144/2 4215/14 4215/15 yacht [1] 4181/16 4181/17 4181/17 widely [1] 4201/19 **year [2]** 4156/16 4165/13 4202/8 4202/24 4203/2 4203/3 wife's [1] 4201/6 **years** [10] 4129/18 4129/20 4203/5 4203/5 4213/19 4214/3 willing [2] 4112/13 4122/19 4130/14 4147/20 4181/12 4215/9 4216/24 4217/14 willingness [1] 4112/4 4182/13 4188/21 4188/25 4217/15 4217/15 **WILLKIE [1]** 4106/18 4189/8 4192/10 videos [1] 4216/21 wins [1] 4163/23 **Yemen [1]** 4176/2 **vie [1]** 4117/25 **WINSTON** [1] 4107/6 yesterday [4] 4158/13 4178/7 view [13] 4112/16 4112/20 wisdom [1] 4126/8 4178/21 4198/12 4112/20 4112/21 4120/1 wise [21 4129/13 4176/15 Ynez [3] 4161/10 4165/13 4190/5 4190/18 4190/18 wish [2] 4136/11 4151/14 4172/24 4191/24 4192/12 4193/21 withdrawn [2] 4193/6 4221/1 YORK [7] 4106/1 4106/4 4203/20 4218/24 witness [17] 4108/11 4108/11 4106/13 4106/14 4106/19 **views** [1] 4183/16 4108/17 4111/5 4119/5 4124/3 4106/19 4129/7 **virtue** [1] 4214/10 young [8] 4126/17 4129/17 4132/22 4146/4 4153/1 **vision** [1] 4186/17 4167/13 4183/11 4195/4 4145/12 4151/7 4176/2 4193/4 **visionary** [1] 4186/8 4203/23 4213/12 4217/9 4197/17 4204/20 visit [5] 4129/22 4136/19 4217/13 4222/1 younger [2] 4135/14 4194/10 4148/22 4158/6 4161/14 woman [2] 4186/11 4204/20 youngest [1] 4186/7 **visited** [1] 4153/25 women [1] 4189/8 Your Honor [27] 4185/5 vote [1] 4189/9 women's [1] 4186/12 4192/22 4195/13 4195/20 wonderful [2] 4157/11 4200/8 4200/23 4202/10 4186/13 4204/4 4204/15 4209/2 4211/1 Wahabis [1] 4188/2 words [7] 4117/25 4120/16 4212/9 4214/5 4215/10 Wahabism [1] 4188/2 4121/3 4121/6 4121/16 4215/20 4216/6 4216/15 **waited [1]** 4143/25 4175/14 4198/19 4217/19 4218/6 4218/16 waiting [1] 4150/19 4219/6 4219/15 4220/6 world [25] 4113/1 4113/11 Walid [3] 4114/14 4114/20 4220/10 4220/16 4220/23 4113/14 4125/23 4130/7 4115/17 4221/3 4133/25 4135/16 4136/5 **walked** [1] 4201/14 Yousef [4] 4124/1 4124/6 4140/16 4147/24 4148/6 wall [2] 4134/9 4155/21 4158/10 4162/3 4162/4 4126/25 4127/11 walls [1] 4150/17 4169/17 4170/7 4174/24 wannabe [1] 4115/6 Z 4185/24 4187/1 4187/7 war [1] 4176/2 4188/23 4190/11 4192/7 Zayed [9] 4109/22 4111/18 Washington [3] 4107/7 4194/6 4201/11 4111/18 4117/13 4119/1 4114/21 4126/16 world's [1] 4132/9 4142/22 4156/7 4186/19 water [2] 4133/17 4201/14 **worldwide [1]** 4185/15 4186/20 **wave [1]** 4132/9 worried [2] 4201/12 4201/15 **Zayed's** [1] 4156/23 wax [1] 4138/9 worry [1] 4201/23 **zoom** [1] 4197/21 ways [2] 4118/16 4118/21 4140/16 worst [1] wealth [8] 4155/16 4155/17 worth [1] 4216/1 4157/23 4158/8 4158/15 would've [1] 4129/13 4158/19 4187/4 4187/5 wow [1] 4111/22 **weather [1]** 4145/10 wrap [1] 4218/19 4190/13 weaving [1]

write [11] 4126/4 4127/11